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Am. JOURNAL *Doyle 10th Reg.*

OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

CONGRESS.



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JOURNAL

OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE



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JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Continental

CONGRESS,

Held at PHILADELPHIA,

September 5, 1774.



PHILADELPHIA:

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at the *London Coffee-House.*

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JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONGRESS

OF THE UNITED STATES



AND

OF THE PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER



*A LIST of the DEPUTIES or DELEGATES
who attended the CONGRESS held at Philadel-
phia, September 5th, 1774.*

From New Hampshire.

Major JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq;
Col. NATHANIEL FOLSOM, Esq;

From Massachusetts-Bay.

The hon. THOMAS CUSHING, Esq;
Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS, Esq;
ROBERT TREAT PAINE, Esq;

From Rhode-Island.

The hon. STEPHEN HOPKINS, Esq;
The hon. SAMUEL WARD, Esq;

From Connecticut.

The hon. ELIPHALET DYER, Esq;
SILAS DEANE, Esq;
The hon. ROGER SHERMAN, Esq;

From New-York.

JAMES DUANE, Esq;
JOHN JAY, Esq;
PHILIP LIVINGSTON, Esq;
ISAAC LOW, Esq;
JOHN ALSOP, Esq;
Col. WILLIAM FLOYD, Esq;
HENRY WISNER,
JOHN HERRING, Esq;
S. BOERUM, Esq;

New-Jersey.

From *New-Jersey*.

JAMES KINSEY, Esq;
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, Esq;
JOHN DE HART, Esq;
STEPHEN CRANE, Esq;
RICHARD SMITH, Esq;

From *Pennsylvania*.

The hon. JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Esq;
SAMUEL RHOADS, Esq;
THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq;
CHARLES HUMPHREYS, Esq;
JOHN MORTON, Esq;
GEORGE ROSS, Esq;
EDWARD BIDDLE, Esq;
JOHN DICKINSON, Esq;

From the Government of the Counties of *New-castle, Kent, and Suffex on Delaware*.

The hon. CÆSAR RODNEY, Esq;
THOMAS M'KEAN, Esq;
GEORGE READ, Esq;

From *Maryland*.

The hon. MATTHEW TILGHMAN, Esq;
THOMAS JOHNSON, Esq;
ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH, Esq;
WILLIAM PACA, Esq;
SAMUEL CHASE, Esq;

From *Virginia*.

The hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Esq;
RICHARD HENRY LEE, Esq;
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq;
PATRICK HENRY, Jun. Esq;
RICHARD

RICHARD BLAND, Esq;
BENJAMIN HARRISON, Esq;
EDMUND PENDLETON, Esq;

From *North-Carolina.*

WILLIAM HOOPER, Esq;
JOSEPH HEWES, Esq;
RICHARD CASWELL, Esq;

From *South-Carolina.*

The hon. HENRY MIDDLETON, Esq;
JOHN RUTLEDGE, Esq;
THOMAS LYNCH, Esq;
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN, Esq;
EDWARD RUTLEDGE, Esq;



ERRATA.

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Richard Bland, Esq.
James Bland, Esq.
James Bland, Esq.

John Bland, Esq.

William Bland, Esq.

Thomas Bland, Esq.

John Bland, Esq.

James Bland, Esq.

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John Bland, Esq.

JOURNAL



JOURNAL, &c.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5th. 1774.

A NUMBER of the Delegates, chosen and appointed by the several Colonies and Provinces in North-America, to meet and hold a Congress at Philadelphia, assembled at the Carpenters' Hall.

P R E S E N T.

From *New-Hampshire*,

Major JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq;
Col. NATHANIEL FOLSOM, Esq;

From *Massachusetts-Bay*,

The Hon. THOMAS CUSHING, Esq;
Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS, } Esqrs.
ROBERT TREAT PAINE, }

more

A

From

From *Rhode-Island and Providence Plan-*
tations,

The Hon. STEPHEN HOPKINS, Esq;
The Hon. SAMUEL WARD, Esq;

From *Connecticut,*

The Hon. ELIPHALET DYER, Esq;
SILAS DEANE, Esq;
The Hon. ROGER SHERMAN, Esq;

From *The City and County of New-York,*
and other Counties in the Province of
New-York,

JAMES DUANE,
JOHN JAY,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
ISAAC LOW, } Esqrs.

From *The County of Suffolk in the Province*
of New-York,

Col. WILLIAM FLOYD, Esq;

From *New-Jersey,*

JAMES KINSEY,
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
JOHN DEHART,
STEPHEN CRANE,
RICHARD SMITH, } Esqrs.

From

From *Pennsylvania*,
 The Hon. JOSEPH GALLOWAY,
 SAMUEL RHOADS,
 THOMAS MIFFLIN,
 CHARLES HUMPHREYS,
 JOHN MORTON,
 EDWARD BIDDLE, } Esqrs.

From *New-Castle, Kent and Suffex, on
 Delaware*,
 The Hon. CÆSAR RODNEY,
 THOMAS M'KEAN,
 GEORGE READ, } Esqrs.

From *Maryland*,
 ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH,
 WILLIAM PACA,
 SAMUEL CHASE, } Esqrs.

From *Virginia*,
 The Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH,
 GEORGE WASHINGTON,
 PATRICK HENRY,
 RICHARD BLAND,
 BENJAMIN HARRISON,
 EDMUND PENDLETON, } Esqrs.

From *South-Carolina*,
 HENRY MIDDLETON,
 JOHN RUTLEDGE,
 CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,
 THOMAS LYNCH,
 EDWARD RUTLEDGE, } Esqrs.

THE Congress proceeded to the Choice of a President, when the Hon. PESTON RANDOLPH, Esq; was unanimously elected.

Mr. CHARLES THOMSON was unanimously chosen Secretary.

THE Gentlemen from the several Colonies produced their respective Credentials, which were read and approved,—as follows—

Province of NEW-HAMPSHIRE. } AT a Meeting of the De-
puties appointed by the
several towns in this Pro-
vince held at Exeter, in the County of Rock-
ingham, 21st July, 1774, for the election of
Delegates, on behalf of this Province, to join
the General Congress proposed.—Present 85
Members.

The Hon. JOHN WENTWORTH, Esq; in the
Chair.

Voted, THAT Major JOHN SULLIVAN, and
Colonel NATHANIEL FOLSOM, Esqrs; be ap-
pointed and empowered, as Delegates, on the
part of this Province, to attend and assist in the
General Congress of Delegates from the other
Colonies, at such time and place, as may be ap-
pointed to devise, consult and adopt measures,
as may have the most likely tendency to extri-
cate the Colonies from their present difficulties,
to secure and perpetuate their Rights, Liberties
and

and Privileges, and to restore that Peace, Harmony and mutual Confidence, which once happily subsisted between the Parent Country and her Colonies.

J. WENTWORTH, *Chairman.*

Province of } In the House of Repre-
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. } sentatives, June 17, 1774:

THIS House having duly considered and being deeply affected with the unhappy differences, which have long subsisted and are increasing between Great-Britain and the American Colonies, do resolve, That a Meeting of Committees from the several Colonies on this Continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the Colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of certain Acts of Parliament respecting America, and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures to be by them recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just Rights and Liberties civil and religious, and the restoration of Union and Harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies most ardently desired by all good Men.—Therefore Resolved that the Hon. JAMES BOWDOINE, Esq; the Hon. THOMAS CUSHING, Esq; Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS and ROBERT TREAT PAINE, Esqrs; be and they are hereby appointed a Committee on the part of this Province, for the

THE Congress proceeded to the Choice of a President, when the Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Esq; was unanimously elected.

Mr. CHARLES THOMSON was unanimously chosen Secretary.

THE Gentlemen from the several Colonies produced their respective Credentials, which were read and approved,—as follows—

Province of NEW-HAMPSHIRE. } AT a Meeting of the Deputies appointed by the several towns in this Province held at Exeter, in the County of Rockingham, 21st July, 1774, for the election of Delegates, on behalf of this Province, to join the General Congress proposed.—Present 85 Members.

The Hon. JOHN WENTWORTH, Esq; in the Chair.

Voted, THAT Major JOHN SULLIVAN, and Colonel NATHANIEL FOLSOM, Esqrs; be appointed and empowered, as Delegates, on the part of this Province, to attend and assist in the General Congress of Delegates from the other Colonies, at such time and place, as may be appointed to devise, consult and adopt measures, as may have the most likely tendency to extricate the Colonies from their present difficulties, to secure and perpetuate their Rights, Liberties and

and Privileges, and to restore that Peace, Harmony and mutual Confidence, which once happily subsisted between the Parent Country and her Colonies.

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the

the purposes aforesaid, any three of whom to be a quorum; to meet such Committees or Delegates from the other Colonies as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective Houses or Burgeses, or Representatives, or by Convention, or by the Committees of Correspondence appointed by the respective Houses of Assembly, in the City of Philadelphia, or any other place that shall be judged most suitable by the Committee, on the 1st Day of September next, and that the Speaker of the House be directed, in a letter to the Speakers of the Houses of Burgeses or Representatives in the several Colonies, to inform them of the substance of these Resolves.

SAMUEL ADAMS, *Clerk.*

RHODE-ISLAND. } *By the Hon. JOSEPH*
 } *WANTON, Esq; Govern-*
 nour, Captain General and
 Commander in Chief of and over the English Co-
 lony of Rhode-Island, and Providence Planta-
 tions, in New-England, in America.

To the Hon. STEPHEN HOPKINS, Esq; and the
 Hon. SAMUEL WARD, Esq; greeting.

WHEREAS the General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid have nominated and appointed you the said STEPHEN HOPKINS and SAMUEL WARD to represent the People of this Colony in a General Congress of Representatives from this and the other Colonies, at such
 time

time and place as should be agreed upon by the major part of the Committees appointed or to be appointed by the Colonies in general, I do therefore hereby authorize, impower and commissionate you the said STEPHEN HOPKINS and SAMUEL WARD to repair to the City of Philadelphia, it being the place agreed upon by the major part of the Colonies, and there, in behalf of this Colony, to meet and join with the Commissioners or Delegates from the other Colonies, in consulting upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the several acts of the British Parliament for levying taxes upon his Majesty's Subjects in America, without their consent, and particularly an Act lately passed for blocking up the Port of Boston, and upon proper measures to establish the Rights and Liberties of the Colonies upon a just and solid foundation, agreeable to the instructions given you by the General Assembly.

[L. S.] Given under my Hand and the Seal of the said Colony this 10th Day of August, in the Year of our Lord 1774, and the 14th of the Reign of his most Sacred Majesty George the Third by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, &c.

J. WANTON.

By his Honour's Command,
HENRY WARD, *Secretary*.

CONNECTICUT.

CONNECTICUT. } In the House of Representatives of the Colony of Connecticut, June 3d, 1774.

WHEREAS a Congress of Commissioners from the several British Colonies in America is proposed by some of our neighbouring Colonies, and thought necessary, and whereas it may be found expedient that such Congress should be convened before the next Sessions of this Assembly,

Resolved by this House, That the Committee of Correspondence be and they are hereby empowered, on application to them made, or from time to time, as may be found necessary, to appoint a suitable number to attend such Congress or Convention of Commissioners, or Committees of the several Colonies in British America, and the Persons thus to be chosen shall be and they are hereby directed, in behalf of this Colony, to attend such Congress, to consult and advise on proper measures for advancing the best Good of the Colonies, and such conferences, from time to time to report to this House.

A true Extract and Copy from the Journal of the House.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, *Clerk.*

Colony

Colony of CONNECTICUT, ff.

NEW-LONDON, *July 13th. 1774.*

AT a meeting of the committee of correspondence for this colony,

The Hon. *Ebenezer Silliman*, Esq; in the chair.

THE HON. ELIPHALET DYER, the Hon. WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, ERASTUS WOLCOTT, SILAS DEANE and RICHARD LAW, Esqrs. were nominated, pursuant to the act of the Hon. House of Representatives of the said colony, at their sessions in May last, either three of which are hereby authorized and empowered, in behalf of this colony, to attend the general Congress of the colonies, proposed to be held at Philadelphia, on the first day of September next, or at such other time and place as shall be agreed on by the colonies, to consult and advise with the commissioners or committees of the several English colonies in America, on proper measures for advancing the best good of the colonies.

Signed, *Ebenezer Silliman. William Williams, Benjamin Payne, Erastus Wolcott, Joseph Trumbull, Samuel H. Parsons, Nathaniel Wale, junr. Silas Deane.*

HARTFORD, *August 1774.*

AT a meeting of the committee of correspondence for this colony.

Erastus Wolcott, chairman.

THE HON. WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, ERASTUS WOLCOTT, and RICHARD LAW, Esqrs. nominated by this committee at New-London, on the 13th of July last, as persons proper to attend the general Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the first of September next, as by said appointment, being unable by reason of previous engagements and the state of their health, to attend said Congress, on behalf of this colony, the HON. ROGER SHERMAN, and JOSEPH TRUMBULL, Esqrs. were nominated in the place of the aforesaid gentlemen, as persons proper to attend said Congress, in behalf of this colony, either of which are impowered, with the Hon. ELIPHALET DYER and SILAS DEANE Esqrs. for that purpose.

Signed. William Williams. Benjamin Payne, Joseph Trumbull. Nathaniel Wale, junr. Samuel H. Parsons, Samuel Bishop.

NEW-YORK. By duly certified polls, taken by proper persons in seven wards, it appears, that JAMES DUANE, JOHN JAY, PHILIP LIVINGSTON, ISAAC LOW, and JOHN ALSOP, Esqrs. were elected as delegates for the city and county of New-York, to attend the Congress at Philadelphia, the first day of September next; and at a meeting of the committees of several districts in the county of West-Chester, the same gentlemen were appointed to represent that county: Also, by a letter from Jacob Lansing, junr. chairman, in behalf of the committee for Albany, it appears that that city and county had adopted the same for their delegates.

By

By another letter it appears, that the committee from the several districts in the county of Dutchess, had likewise, adopted the same as delegates, to represent that county in Congress. and that committees of other towns approve of them as their delegates.

By a writing duly attested it appears, the county of Suffolk, in the colony of New-York, have appointed Colonel WILLIAM FLOYD, to represent them in Congress.

NEW-JERSEY. TO JAMES KINSEY, WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, JOHN DEHART, STEPHEN CRANE, and RICHARD SMITH, Esqrs. each and every of you,

THE committees, appointed by the several counties of the colony of New-Jersey, to nominate deputies, to represent the same in general Congress of deputies, from the other colonies in America, convened at the city of New-Brunswick, have nominated and appointed, and do hereby nominate and appoint you, and each of you, deputies, to represent the colony of New-Jersey, in the said general Congress. In testimony whereof, the chairman of the said several committees here met, have hereunto set their hands, this twenty-third day of July, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King George the Third, and in the year of our Lord, 1774.

Signed. *William P. Smith, Jacob Ford, John Moores, Robert Johnson, Robert Field, Robert Friend, Price, Peter Zabriskie, Samuel Tucker.*

Edward Taylor, Hendrick Fisher, Archibald Stewart, Thomas Anderson, Abia Brown, Mark Thompson.

P E N N S Y L V A N I A.

Extract from Votes of the Assembly.

FRIDAY, *July* 22d. 1774, A. M.

THE committee of the whole house taking into their most serious consideration, the unfortunate differences which have long subsisted between Great-Britain and the American colonies, and being greatly encreased by the operation and effects of divers late acts of the British parliament.

Resolved N. C. D. That, there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of deputies from the several colonies be held as soon as conveniently may be, to consult together upon the present unhappy state of the colonies, and to form and adopt a plan for the purposes of obtaining redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights upon the most solid and constitutional principles, and for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both.

Eodem die, P. M.

THE house resumed the consideration of the resolve from the committee of the whole house, and, after some debate thereon, adopting and confirming the same,

Resolved,

Resolved, N. C. D. That the Hon. JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Speaker, SAMUEL RHOADS, THOMAS MIFFLIN, CHARLES HUMPHREYS, JOHN MORTON, GEORGE ROSS, and EDWARD BIDDLE, Esquires, be and they are hereby appointed a committee, on the part of this province, for the purposes aforesaid, and that they or any four of them do meet such committees or delegates from the other colonies, as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective houses of representatives, or by convention, or by the provincial or colony committees, at such time and place. as shall be generally agreed on by such committees.

The three counties NEW-CASTLE, KENT, and SUSSEX on Delaware.

August 1. 1774, A. M.

THE representatives of the freemen of the government of the counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Suffex, on Delaware, met at New-Castle, in pursuance of circular letters from the speaker of the house. who was requested to write and forward the same to the members of assembly, by the committees of correspondence for the several counties aforesaid, chosen and appointed for that among other purposes, by the freeholders and freemen of the said counties respectively : And having chosen a chairman, and read the resolves of the three respective counties, and sundry letters from the committees of correspondence along the continent, they unanimously entered into the following resolution viz.

WE

WE the representatives aforesaid, by virtue of the power delegated to us, as aforesaid, taking into our most serious consideration the several acts of the British parliament, for restraining manufactures in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in North-America,---for taking away the property of the colonists without their participation or consent,---for the introduction of the arbitrary powers of excise into the customs here,---for the making all revenue causes triable without jury, and under the decision of a single dependent judge,---for the trial, in England, of persons accused of capital crimes, committed in the colonies---for the shutting up the port of Boston---for new modeling the government of the Massachuffets-Bay, and the operation of the same on the property, liberty, and lives of the colonists; and also considering, that the most eligible mode of determining upon the premises, and of endeavouring to procure relief and redress of our grievances, would have been by us assembled in a legislative capacity, but that as the house had adjourned to the 30th day of September next, and it is not to be expected, that his Honour the Governor would call us, by writs of summons, on this occasion, having refused to do the like in his other province of Pennsylvania; the next most proper method, of answering the expectations and desires of our constituents, and of contributing our aid to the general cause of America, is to appoint commissioners or deputies, in behalf of the people of this government, to meet and act with those, appointed by the other provinces, in general Congress; and we do therefore, unanimously nominate and appoint

point CÆSAR RODNEY, THOMAS M'KEAN and GEORGE READ, Esqrs. or any two of them, deputies, on the part and behalf of this government, in a general continental Congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the first Monday, in September next, or at any other time or place that may be generally agreed on, then and there, to consult and advise with the deputies from the other colonies, and to determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures, as may be judged most expedient for the colonies immediately and unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people, and the redress of our general grievances.

Signed, by order of the convention,

Cæsar Rodney, Chairman.

MARYLAND. At a meeting of the committees appointed by the several counties of the province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, the 22d day of June, 1774, and continued, by adjournment, from day to day, till the 25th of the same month.

MATTHEW TILGHMAN, Esq; in the chair.

JOHN DUCKETT, clerk.

Resolved. That MATTHEW TILGHMAN, THOMAS JOHNSON, junr. ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH, WILLIAM PACA, and SAMUEL CHASE, Esqrs. or any two or more of them, be deputies for this province, to attend a general Congress of deputies from the colonies, at such time and place as may be agreed on, to effect one general plan of conduct, operating on the commercial connection

connection of the colonies with the mother country, for the relief of Boston, and preservation of American liberty.

VIRGINIA. MONDAY, the first of *August*, in the year of our Lord, 1774. At a general meeting of delegates from the different counties in this colony, convened in the city of Williamsburgh, to take under their consideration the present critical and alarming situation of the continent of North-America.

HON. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Esq; in the chair.

It was unanimously *Resolved*. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that it will be highly conducive to the security and happiness of the British empire, that a general Congress of deputies from all the colonies, assemble as soon as the nature of their situations will admit, to consider of the most proper and effectual manner, of so operating on the commercial connection of the colonies with the mother-country, as to procure redress for the much injured province of Massachusetts-Bay, to secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily to procure the return of that harmony and union so beneficial to the whole empire, and so ardently desired by all British America.

FRIDAY, *August* 5th. 1774.

THE meeting proceeded to the choice of delegates, to represent this colony in general Congress

gress, when the honorable PEYTON RANDOLPH, RICHARD HENRY LEE, GEORGE WASHINGTON, PATRICK HENRY, RICHARD BLAND, BENJAMIN HARRISON, and EDMUND PENDLETON, Esquires, were appointed for that purpose.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

In the Commons House of Assembly, Tuesday
the 2d day of *August*, 1774,

COLONEL POWELL acquainted the house, that during the recess of this house, *viz.* on the sixth, seventh, and eighth days of July last, at a general meeting of the inhabitants of this colony, they having under consideration the acts of parliament lately passed with regard to the port of Boston and colony of Massachusetts-Bay, as well as other American grievances, had nominated and appointed the honorable Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and Edward Rutledge, Esqrs; deputies on the part and behalf of this colony, to meet the deputies of the other colonies of North-America, in general congress, the first monday in September next at Philadelphia, or at any other time and place that may be generally agreed on, there to consider the acts lately passed, and bills depending in parliament with regard to the port of Boston and colony of Massachusetts-Bay, which acts and bills in the precedent and consequences, affect the whole continent of America—also the greivances un-

C

der

der which America labours, by reason of the several acts of parliament, that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, and lay unnecessary restraints and burdens on trade.— And of the statutes, parliamentary acts, and royal instructions, which make an invidious distinction between his Majesty's subjects in Great-Britain and America, with full power and authority to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such legal measures, as in the opinion of the said deputies, and of the deputies so to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said acts, and a redress of those grievances: And thereupon moved that this house do resolve to recognize, ratify, and confirm the said appointment of the deputies for the purposes aforesaid.

Resolved, N. C. D. THAT this house do recognize, ratify, and confirm the appointment of the said deputies for the purposes mentioned in the said motion.

Attested. THOMAS FARR, jun. *Clerk.*

TUESDAY, *September 6*, 1774, A. M.

The CONGRESS met according to adjournment.

Present. THE same members as yesterday, and moreover from the colony of Virginia, Richard Henry Lee, esquire.

THE Congress resuming the consideration of rules of conduct to be observed in debating
and

and determining questions, that come under consideration.

Resolved, THAT in determining questions in this congress, each colony or province shall have one vote.—The Congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony.

Resolved, THAT no person shall speak more than twice on the same point, without leave of the Congress.

Resolved, THAT no question shall be determined the day, on which it is agitated and debated, if any one of the colonies desire the determination to be postponed to another day.

Resolved, THAT the door be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honor, to keep the proceedings secret, until the majority shall direct them to be made publick.

Resolved, THAT a committee be appointed to state the rights of the colonies in general, the several instances in which those rights are violated or infringed, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them.

Ordered, THAT the appointment of the committee, and the number of which it shall consist, be deferred until to-morrow.

Resolved,

Resolved, THAT a committee be appointed to examine and report the several statutes, which affect the trade and manufactures of the colonies.

SAME order as above respecting the appointment and number of this committee.

Resolved, THAT the reverend Mr. Duché be desired to open the Congress to-morrow morning with prayers, at the Carpenter's-Hall at nine o'clock.

THOMAS JOHNSON, jun. esq; one of the delegates from Maryland, attended and took his seat.

EXTRACT from the minutes of the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, dated August 31st, 1774.—directed to the president, was read, as follows:

“ Upon motion ordered,
“ THAT the librarian furnish the gentlemen, who are to meet in Congress, with the use of such books as they may have occasion for, during their sitting, taking a receipt for them.

Signed by order of the directors,
William Attmore, Sec.”

Ordered,
THAT the thanks of the Congress be returned to the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, for their obliging order.

Adjourned

Adjourned 'til nine o'clock to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, *September 7, 1774*, A. M.

AGREEABLE to the resolve of yesterday, the meeting was opened with prayers by the reverend Mr. Duché.

Voted, THAT the thanks of the Congress be given to Mr. Duché, by Mr. Cushing and Mr. Ward, for performing divine service, and for the excellent prayer, which he composed and delivered on the occasion.

THE Congress taking into consideration the appointment of the committees, a vote was taken on the number of which the first committee should consist, and by a great majority, resolved that it consist of two from each of the colonies, as follows :

From *Newhampshire*,
Major John Sullivan, and Col. Folsom.
Massachusetts-Bay,
Mr. Samuel Adams, and Mr. John Adams.
Rhode-Island,
Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Ward.
Connecticut,
Colonel Dyer, and Mr. Sherman.
New-York,
Mr. James Duane, and Mr. John Jay.
New-Jersey,
Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Dehart.
Pennsylvania,
Mr. Joseph Galloway, and Mr. Edward Biddle.
Delaware

Delaware Government,
Mr. Cæsar Rodney, and Mr. M^c Kean.

Maryland,
Mr. Thomas Johnson, and Mr. Goldsborough.
Virginia,

Mr. Lee, and Mr. Pendleton.

South-Carolina,
Mr. Lynch, and Mr. J. Rutledge.

AGREED that the second committee consist
of one chosen from each colony, as follows :

<i>Newhampshire,</i>	Mr. Sullivan.
<i>Massachusetts-Bay,</i>	Mr. Cushing.
<i>Rhode-Island,</i>	Mr. Hopkins.
<i>Connecticut,</i>	Mr. Deane.
<i>New-York,</i>	Mr. Low.
<i>New-Jersey,</i>	Mr. Kinsey.
<i>Pennsylvania,</i>	Mr. Mifflin.
<i>Delaware Government,</i>	Mr. Read.
<i>Maryland,</i>	Mr. Chase.
<i>Virginia,</i>	Mr. Henry.
<i>South-Carolina,</i>	Mr. Gadsden.

Ordered, THAT Isaac Lefevre, and James
Lynch, be employed as door keepers and mes-
sengers to this Congress.

Resolved, THAT the president may adjourn
the Congress from day to day, when he finds
there is no business prepared to be laid before
them, and may, when he finds it necessary,
call them together before the time to which
they may stand adjourned.

Adjourned

Adjourned 'till to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

THE president, agreeable to the resolve of the seventh instant, adjourned the Congress from day to day 'till

MONDAY, *September 12, 1774.*

THE CONGRESS met.

MATTHEW TILGHMAN, esq; one of the delegates from Maryland, appeared and took his seat.

No business being prepared for the Congress, the president adjourned it 'till tuesday, and from tuesday 'till wednesday.

WEDNESDAY, *September 14, 1774, A. M.*

WILLIAM HOOPER and JOSEPH HEWES, Esquires, two of the deputies from North-Carolina, attended the Congress, and produced their credentials, as follows:

North-Carolina, AT a general meeting of deputies of the inhabitants of this province, Newbern, the 25th day of August, 1774.

Resolved, THAT we approve of the proposal of a General Congress, to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the twentieth day of September next, then and there to deliberate upon the present state of British America, and
to

to take such measures as they may deem prudent to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of Americans, repairing the breach made in those rights, and for guarding them for the future from any such violations done under the sanction of public authority.

Resolved, That WILLIAM HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, and RICHARD CASWELL, Esquires, and every of them be Deputies to attend such Congress, and they are hereby invested with such powers, as may make any acts done by them or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honor upon every inhabitant hereof, who is not an alien to his country's good and an apostate to the liberties of America.

Signed, JOHN HERVEY, *Moderator*.

Attested, Andrew Knox, *Clerk*.

The above being read and approved, the Deputies took their seats.

HENRY WISNER, a Delegate from the county of Orange, in the Colony of New-York, appeared at Congress, and produced a certificate of his election by the said county, which being read and approved, he took his seat in Congress as a Deputy for the Colony of New-York.

GEORGE ROSS, one of the Delegates for the Province of Pennsylvania, and JOHN ALSOP, Esq; one of the Delegates for the Colony of New-York,

New-York, appeared and took their seats in Congress.

Ordered, THAT William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, Esqrs; from North-Carolina, be added to the Committee appointed to state the rights of the Colonies.

Ordered, THAT William Hooper, Esq; be one of the Committee appointed to report the statutes, which affect the trade, &c. of the Colonies.

THE Delegates from the province of Massachusetts-Bay, agreeable to a request from the joint Committees of every town and district in the county of Middlesex, in the said province, communicated to the Congress the Proceedings of those Committees at Concord, on the 30th and 31st days of August last, which were read.

Adjourned 'til to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

No business being prepared, the Congress was adjourned from day to day, 'til Saturday morning, at 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, September 17, 1774, A. M.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

RICHARD CASWELL, Esq; one of the Deputies from North-Carolina, appeared, and took his seat in Congress.

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THE resolutions entered into by the Delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, on Tuesday the 6th of September, and their address to his Excellency Governor Gage, dated the 9th, were laid before the Congress, and are as follows—

At a meeting of the Delegates of every town and district in the county of Suffolk, on Tuesday the 6th of September, at the house of Mr. Richard Woodward, of Deadham, and by adjournment at the house of Mr. — Vose, of Milton, on Friday the 9th instant, *Joseph Palmer*, Esq; being chosen Moderator, and *William Thompson*, Esq; Clerk, a Committee was chosen to bring in a report to the convention, and the following being several times read, and put paragraph by paragraph, was unanimously voted, viz.

W H E R E A S the power but not the justice, the vengeance but not the wisdom of Great-Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and excited our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us their guiltless children with unrelenting severity: And whereas this then savage and uncultivated desert was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valour of those our venerable progenitors; to us they bequeathed the dear bought inheritance, to our care and protection they consigned it, and the most sacred obligations are upon us to transmit the glorious obligations unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles.

shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring.
 On the fortitude, on the wisdom and on the ex-
 ertions of this important day, is suspended the
 fate of this new world, and of unborn millions.
 If a boundless extent of continent, swarming
 with millions, will tamely submit to live, move
 and have their being at the arbitrary will of a
 licentious minister, they basely yield to volun-
 tary slavery, and future generations shall load
 their memories with incessant execrations.—On
 the other hand, if we arrest the hand which
 would ransack our pockets, if we disarm the par-
 ricide which points the dagger to our Bosoms, if
 we nobly defeat that fatal edict which proclaims
 a power to frame laws for us in all cases whatso-
 ever, thereby entailing the endless and number-
 less curses of slavery upon us, our heirs and their
 heirs forever; if we successfully resist that unparal-
 leled usurpation of unconstitutional power where-
 by our capital is robbed of the means of life;
 whereby the streets of Boston are thronged with
 military executioners; whereby our coasts are
 lined and harbours crouded with ships of war;
 whereby the Charter of the Colony, that sacred
 barrier against the encroachments of Tyranny,
 is mutilated and in effect annihilated; whereby
 a murderous law is framed to shelter villains
 from the hands of justice; whereby the unali-
 enable and inestimable inheritance, which we de-
 rived from nature, the constitution of Britain,
 and the privileges warranted to us in the char-
 ter of the province, is totally wrecked, annulled,
 and vacated, posterity will acknowledge that vir-
 tue which preserved them free and happy; and

while we enjoy the rewards and blessings of the faithful, the torrent of panegyrist's will roll our reputations to that latest period, when the streams of time shall be absorbed in the abyss of eternity——Therefore we have resolved, and do RESOLVE,

1. THAT whereas his Majesty George the Third is the rightful successor to the throne of Great-Britain, and justly entitled to the allegiance of the British realm, and agreeable to compact, of the English Colonies in America——therefore, we the heirs and successors of the first planters of this colony do cheerfully acknowledge the said George the third to be our rightful Sovereign, and that said covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and submission.

2. THAT it is an indispensable duty which we owe to God, our country, ourselves and posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power to maintain, defend and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties, for which many of our fathers fought, bled and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations.

3. THAT the late acts of the British Parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the established form of government in this colony, and for screening the most flagitious violators of the laws of the province from a legal trial, are gross infractions of those rights

rights to which we are justly entitled by the laws of nature, the British constitution, and the Charter of the province.

4. THAT no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the acts above-mentioned, but that they be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.

5. THAT so long as the Justices of our Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize, &c. and Inferior Court of Common Pleas in this county are appointed, or hold their places, by any other tenure than that which the Charter and the Laws of the Province direct, they must be considered as under undue influence, and are therefore unconstitutional officers, and as such no regard ought to be paid to them by the people of this county.

6. THAT if the Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature, Assize, &c. Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, or of the General Sessions of the Peace, shall sit and act during their present disqualified state, this county will support and bear harmless all Sheriffs and their deputies, Constables, Jurors and other officers, who shall refuse to carry into execution the orders of said Courts; and as far as possible to prevent the many inconveniencies which must be occasioned by a suspension of the Courts of Justice, we do most earnestly recommend it to all creditors that they shew all reasonable and even generous

nerous forbearance to their debtors, and to all debtors, to pay their just debts with all possible speed, and if any disputes relative to debts or trespasses shall arise, which cannot be settled by the parties, we recommend it to them to submit all such causes to arbitration, and it is our opinion that the contending parties or either of them, who shall refuse so to do, ought to be considered as co-operating with the enemies of this country.

7. THAT it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, Constables and all other officers, who have public monies in their hands, to retain the same and not to make any payment thereof to the provincial county treasurer until the civil government of the province is placed upon a constitutional foundation, or until it shall otherwise be ordered by the proposed provincial Congress.

8. THAT the persons who have accepted seats at the Council Board, by virtue of a mandamus, from the King, in conformity to the late act of the British Parliament, entitled an act for the regulating the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, have acted in direct violation of the duty they owe to their country, and have thereby given great and just offence to this people, therefore resolved, that this county do recommend it to all persons, who have so highly offended by accepting said departments, and have not already publicly resigned their seats at the Council Board, to make public resignations
of

of their places at said Board, on or before the 20th day of this instant, September ; and that all persons refusing so to do shall, from and after said day, be considered by this county as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this country.

9. THAT the fortifications begun and now carrying on upon Boston Neck, are justly alarming to this county, and gives us reason to apprehend some hostile intention against that town, more especially as the Commander in Chief has in a very extraordinary manner removed the powder from the magazine at Charlestown, and has also forbidden the keeper of the magazine at Boston, to deliver out to the owners the powder, which they had lodged in said magazine.

10. THAT the late act of Parliament for establishing the Roman Catholic religion and the French laws in that extensive country now called Quebec, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion and to the civil rights and liberties of all America ; and therefore as men and protestant Christians, we are indispensably obliged to take all proper measures for our security.

11. THAT whereas our enemies have flattered themselves that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous, brave and hardy people, from an apprehension that they are unacquainted with military discipline, we therefore for the honor, defence and security of this county and province
advise

advise, as it has been recommended to take away all commissions from the officers of the militia, that those who now hold commissions, or such other persons be elected in each town as officers in the militia, as shall be judged of sufficient capacity for that purpose, and who have evidenced themselves the inflexible friends to the rights of the people; and that the inhabitants of those towns and districts, who are qualified, do use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and do for that purpose appear under arms at least once every week.

12. THAT during the present hostile appearances on the part of Great-Britain, notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which we most sensibly resent, yet, nevertheless from our affection to his Majesty, which we have at all times evidenced, we are determined to act merely upon the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason and the principles of self-preservation, but no longer.

13. THAT as we understand it has been in contemplation to apprehend sundry persons of this county, who have rendered themselves conspicuous in contending for the violated rights and liberties of their countrymen, we do recommend, should such an audacious measure be put in practice, to seize and keep in safe custody, every servant of the present tyrannical and unconstitutional government throughout the county and province, until the persons so apprehended

ed be liberated from the hands of our adversaries, and restored safe and uninjured to their respective friends and families.

14. THAT until our rights are fully restored to us, we will, to the utmost of our power and we recommend the same to the other counties, withhold all commercial intercourse with Great-Britain, Ireland and the West-Indies, and abstain from the consumption of British merchandize and manufactures, and especially of East-India Teas and piece goods, with such additions, alterations and exceptions only, as the *General Congress* of the Colonies may agree to.

15. THAT under our present circumstances it is incumbent on us to encourage arts and manufactures among us by all means in our power, and that

be and are hereby appointed a Committee to consider of the best ways and means to promote and establish the same, and to report to this Convention as soon as may be.

16. THAT the exigencies of our public affairs demand that a provincial Congress be called to consult such measures as may be adopted, and vigorously executed by the whole people ; and we do recommend it to the several towns in this county, to chose members for such a provincial Congress, to be holden at Concord on the second Tuesday of October next ensuing.

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17. THAT

17. THAT this county confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, pay all due respect and submission to such measures as may be recommended by them to the colonies, for the restoration and establishment of their just rights, civil and religious, and for renewing that harmony and union between Great-Britain and the colonies so earnestly wished for by all good men.

18. THAT whereas the universal uneasiness which prevails among all orders of men, arising from the wicked and oppressive measures of the present administration, may influence some unthinking persons to commit outrage upon private property; we would heartily recommend to all persons of this community not to engage in any routs, riots, or licentious attacks upon the properties of any person whatsoever, as being subversive of all order and government; but by a steady, manly, uniform and persevering opposition to convince our enemies that in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country.

19. THAT should our enemies, by any sudden manœuvres, render it necessary to ask the aid and assistance of our brethren in the country, some one of the Committee of Correspondence, or a Select Man of such town or the town adjoining, where such hostilities shall commence or shall be expected to commence, shall dispatch
couriers

couriers with written messages to the Select Men or Committees of Correspondence, of the several towns in the vicinity, with a written account of such matter, who shall dispatch others to Committees more remote, untill proper and sufficient assistance be obtained, and that the expence of said couriers be defrayed by the county, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the provincial Congress.

AT a meeting of Delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, held at Milton on Friday the 9th day of September, 1774.—*Voted,*

THAT Doctor Joseph Warren of Boston, &c. be a Committee to wait on his Excellency the Governor, to inform him that this county are alarmed at the fortifications making on Boston Neck, and to remonstrate against the same, and the repeated insults offered by the soldiery to persons passing and repassing into that town, and to confer with him upon those subjects.

Attest, WILLIAM THOMPSON, Clerk.

To his Excellency THOMAS GAGE, ESQUIRE,
Captain General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts-Bay.

May it please your Excellency,

THE county of Suffolk being greatly, and in their opinion justly, alarmed at the formidable

dable appearances of hostility now threatening his Majesty's good subjects of this county, and more particularly of the town of Boston, the loyal and faithful capital of this province; beg leave to address your Excellency, and represent that the apprehensions of the people are more particularly increased by the dangerous design now carrying into execution of repairing and manning the fortification at the south entrance of the town of Boston, which when compleated may at any time be improved to aggravate the miseries of that already impoverished and distressed city, by intercepting the wanted and necessary intercourse between the town and country, and compel the wretched inhabitants to the most ignominious state of humiliation and vassalage, by depriving them of the necessary supplies of provision for which they are chiefly dependant on that communication: We have been informed that your Excellency in consequence of the application of the Select-Men of Boston, has indeed disavowed any intention to injure the town in your present manœuvres, and expressed your purpose to be for the security of the troops and his Majesty's subjects in the town, we are at a loss to guess, may it please your Excellency, from whence your want of confidence in the loyal and orderly people of this vicinity could originate; a measure so formidable carried into execution from a pre-conceived though causeless jealousy of the insecurity of his Majesty's troops and subjects in the town, deeply wounds the loyalty and is an additional injury to the faithful subjects of this county and affords them a strong motive for this application: we therefore intreat your Excellency

cy to desist from your design, assuring your Excellency that the people of this county are by no means disposed to injure his Majesty's troops; they think themselves aggrieved and oppressed by the late Acts of Parliament, and are resolved by divine assistance, never to submit to them, but have no inclination to commence a war with his Majesty's troops, and beg leave to observe to your Excellency, that the ferment now excited in the minds of the people is occasioned by some late transactions, by seizing the powder in the arsenal at Charles-Town, by withholding the powder lodged in the magazine of the town of Boston from the legal proprietors, insulting, beating and abusing passengers to and from the town by the soldiery, in which they have been encouraged by some of their officers, putting the people in fear, and menacing them in their nightly patrol into the neighbouring towns, and more particularly by the fortifying the sole avenue by land to the town of Boston.

IN duty therefore to his Majesty and to your Excellency and for the restoration of order and security to this county, we the Delegates from the several towns in this county, being commissioned for this purpose, beg your Excellency's attention to this our humble and faithful Address, assuring you that nothing less than an immediate removal of the ordnance, and restoring the entrance into the town to its former state, and an effectual stop of all insults and abuses in future, can place the inhabitants of this county in that state of peace and tranquillity in which every free subject ought to be.

HIS

HIS Excellency was waited on to know if he would receive the committee with the above written address, but desiring he might have a copy of it in a private way, that so when he received it from the committee he might have an answer prepared for them, he was accordingly furnished with a copy, his Excellency then declared that he would receive the committee on Monday at 12 o'clock.

SATURDAY *September 10, 1774.*

THE Congress taking the foregoing into consideration,

Resolved unanimously,

THAT this assembly deeply feels the suffering of their countrymen in the Massachusetts Bay, under the operation of the late unjust, cruel and oppressive acts of the British Parliament—that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude, with which opposition to these wicked ministerial measures has hitherto been conducted, and they earnestly recommend to their brethren a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, as expressed in the resolutions determined upon at a meeting of the delegates for the county of Suffolk, on Tuesday the 6th instant, trusting that the effect of the united efforts of North America, in their behalf, will carry such conviction to the British nation of the unwise, unjust and ruinous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures.

Resolved

Resolved unanimously,

THAT contributions from all the colonies for supplying the necessities and alleviating the distresses of our brethren at Boston ought to be continued, in such manner and so long as their occasions may require.

Ordered, THAT a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to Boston by the President.

Ordered, THAT these resolutions together with the resolutions of the county of Suffolk be published in the news papers.

THE committee appointed to examine and report the several statutes, which affect the trade and manufactures of the colonies, brought in their report, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Adjourned till Monday morning.

MONDAY September 19, 1774, A. M.

THE Congress met according to adjournment.

THE report brought in on Saturday being read,

Ordered, THAT the same be referred to the committee appointed to state the rights of the colonies, &c. to which committee the Honourable Thomas Cushing, Esq; Patrick Henry, and Thomas Mifflin, Esqrs. were added.

Adjourned

Adjourned from day to day, till Thursday.

THURSDAY *September 22, 1774.*

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Upon motion,

Resolved unanimously,

THAT the Congress, request the Merchants and others in the several colonies, not to send to Great-Britain any orders for goods, and to direct the execution of all orders already sent, to be delayed or suspended, until the sense of the Congress on the means to be taken, for the preservation of the liberties of America is made public.

Ordered, THAT this resolution be made public by hand-bills, and by publishing it in the newspapers.

THE Committee appointed to state the rights, &c. of the colonies, having brought in a report of rights, the same was read, and the consideration of it referred till Saturday next.

Ordered, THAT a copy of this report be made out for each colony.

SATURDAY *September 24, 1774, A. M.*

THE Congress entered upon the consideration of the report referred to this day, and after some debate, upon motion,

Resolved,

Resolved, THAT the Congress do confine themselves, at present, to the consideration of such rights, as have been infringed by Acts of the British Parliament since the year 1763, postponing the further consideration of the general state of American rights to a future day.

HEREUPON the Committee appointed to state the rights &c. brought in a report of the infringements and violations of American rights, which being read—upon motion

Resolved, THAT the consideration of this report be referred till Monday, and that the Congress in the mean time deliberate on the means most proper to be used for a restoration of our rights.—

AFTER some debate on the subject the Congress adjourned.

MONDAY, *September 26th*, 1774. A. M.

THE Congress met according to adjournment.

JOHN HERRING, Esq; a Deputy from Orange county in the colony of New-York, appeared this morning and took his seat as a Delegate for that colony.

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the means &c. and after several hours spent thereon, it was referred till to-morrow, to which time the Congress was adjourned.—

F

TUESDAY

TUESDAY, September 27th, 1774. A. M.

THE Congress met according to adjournment, and resuming the consideration of the means most proper to be used for a restoration of American rights,

Resolved unanimously, THAT from and after the first day of December next, there be no importation into British America from Great-Britain or Ireland, of any goods, wares or merchandize whatever, or from any other place, of any such goods, wares or merchandizes, as shall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland, and that no such goods, wares or merchandizes imported after the said first day of December next be used or purchased.—

Adjourned till to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY being taken up in the consideration and debates on the means &c. the Congress met on Friday 30 Sept. and upon the question

Resolved, THAT from and after the 10th day of September 1775, the exportation of all merchandize and every commodity whatsoever to Great-Britain, Ireland and the West-Indies ought to cease, unless the grievances of America are redressed before that time.—

Ordered, THAT Mr. Cushing, Mr. Low, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Johnson be
a Com-

a Committee to bring in a plan for carrying into effect, the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation resolved on.—

SATURDAY, *October 1st*, 1774.

SIMON BOERUM, Esq; appeared in Congress as a Deputy from King's county in the colony of New-York, and produced the credentials of his election, which being read and approved, he took his seat as a Delegate for that colony.

The Congress resuming the consideration of the means &c. upon motion

Resolved unanimously, THAT a loyal address to his Majesty be prepared, dutifully requesting the royal attention to the grievances that alarm and distress his Majesty's faithful subjects in North-America, and entreating his Majesty's gracious interposition for the removal of such grievances, thereby to restore between Great-Britain and the colonies that harmony so necessary to the happiness of the British empire, and so ardently desired by all America.

Agreed, THAT Mr. Lee, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Rutledge, be a committee, to prepare an Address to his Majesty.

MONDAY *October 3*, 1774.

THE Congress met, according to adjournment, and after some debate,

Resolved

Resolved unanimously,

THAT it be an instruction to the committee, who are appointed to draw up an address to the King — Whereas Parliamentary taxes on America have been laid, on pretence of “defraying the expences of government, and supporting the administration of justice and defending, protecting, and securing the colonies.” — That they do assure his Majesty, that the colonies have or will make ample provision for defraying all the necessary expences of supporting government, and the due administration of justice in the respective colonies; that the militia, if put on a proper footing, would be amply sufficient for their defence in time of peace, that they are desirous of putting it on such a footing immediately, and that in case of war, the colonies are ready to grant supplies for raising any further forces that may be necessary.

THE remainder of this day and the day following, was taken up in deliberating and debating on matters proper to be contained in the Address to his Majesty.

WEDNESDAY, *October 5th*, 1774.

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the subject in debate yesterday, and after some time spent thereon

Resolved, THAT the Committee appointed to prepare an Address to his Majesty, be instructed
to

to assure his Majesty, that in case the colonies shall be restored to the state they were in, at the close of the late war, by abolishing the system of laws and regulations—for raising a revenue in America—for extending the powers of Courts of Admiralty—for the trial of persons beyond sea for crimes committed in America—for affecting the colony of the Massachusetts-Bay—and for altering the government and extending the limits of Canada, the jealousies which have been occasioned by such acts and regulations of Parliament, will be removed and commerce again restored.

AN Address from William Goddard to the Congress was read and ordered to lie on the table.

THURSDAY, *October 6th*, 1774.

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the means proper to be used for a restoration of American rights. During this debate, an express from Boston arrived with a letter from the Committee of Correspondence dated the 29th of September, which was laid before the Congress.

IN this the committee of correspondence inform the Congress, that they “expected some regard would have been paid to the petitions presented to their Governor, against fortifying their town in such a manner as can be accounted for only upon the supposition, that the town and country are to be treated by the soldiery as declared enemies---

mies—that the entrenchments upon the Neck are nearly compleated—that cannon are mounted at the entrance of the town—that it is currently reported, that fortifications are to be erected on Corpsehill, Bacon Hill, Fort Hill, &c. so that the fortifications, with the ships in the harbour may absolutely command every avenue to the town both by sea and land---that a number of cannon, the property of a private Gentleman, were a few days ago seized and taken from his wharf by order of the General—that from several circumstances mentioned in the letter, there is reason to apprehend, that Boston is to be made and kept a garrisoned town;—that from all they can hear from Britain, administration is resolved to do all in their power to force them to a submission—that when the town is inclosed, it is apprehended the inhabitants will be held as hostages for the submission of the country, they apply therefore to the Congress for advice how to act—that---if the Congress advise to quit the town--they obey—if it is judged that by maintaining their ground they can better serve the public cause, they will not shrink from hardship and danger—finally, that as the late Acts of Parliament have made it impossible that there should be a due administration of justice, and all law therefore must be suspended—that as the Governor has by Proclamation prevented the meeting of the General Court—they therefore request the advice of the Congress.”

Ordered, THAT this letter be taken into consideration to-morrow morning.

THE

THE Congress then resumed the consideration of the means &c.

Resolved, THAT the Committee appointed to prepare the form of an association, be directed to adopt the following clause, viz.—That from and after the first day of December next, no molasses, coffee or pimento from the British plantations or from Dominica, or wines from Madeira and the western Islands, or foreign indigo be imported into these colonies.

FRIDAY, *October 7th*, 1774.

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the letter from the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, and after some debate—

Resolved, THAT a Committee be appointed to prepare a letter to his Excellency General Gage, representing “ that the town of Boston and province of Massachusetts-Bay, are considered by all America as suffering in the common cause, for their noble and spirited opposition to oppressive Acts of Parliament calculated to deprive us of our most sacred rights and privileges.”
-----Expressing our concern, that, while the Congress are deliberating on the most peaceable means for restoring American liberty, and that harmony and intercourse, which subsisted between us and the parent kingdom so necessary to both, his Excellency, as they are informed, is raising fortifications round the town of Boston, thereby

thereby exciting well grounded jealousies in the minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects therein, that he means to cut off all communication between them and their brethren in the country, and reduce them to a state of submission to his will, and that the soldiers under his Excellency's command, are frequently violating private property, and offering various insults to the people, which must irritate their minds, and if not put a stop to, involve all America in the horrors of a civil war.---To entreat his Excellency, from the assurance we have of the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston and the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, to discontinue his fortifications, and that a free and safe communication be restored and continued between the town of Boston and the country, and prevent all injuries on the part of the troops, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, after the measures now adopting shall have been laid before him.

Mr. Lynch, Mr. S. Adams and Mr. Pendleton are appointed a committee to draught a letter agreeable to the foregoing resolution.

SATURDAY *October* 8, 1774.

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the letter from Boston, and upon motion.

Resolved, THAT this Congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay,

Bay, to the execution of the late acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case, all America ought to support them in their opposition.

MONDAY *October* 10, 1774.

THE Congress resuming the consideration of the letter from Boston

Resolved unanimously,

THAT it is the opinion of this body, that the removal of the people of Boston into the country would be, not only extremely difficult in the execution, but so important in its consequences, as to require the utmost deliberation before it is adopted; but in case the provincial meeting of that colony should judge it absolutely necessary, it is the opinion of the Congress, that all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain, and it will be recommended accordingly.

Resolved, THAT the Congress recommend to the inhabitants of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, where it cannot be procured in a legal and peaceable manner, under the rules of their present charter and the laws of the colony founded thereon.

Resolved unanimously,

THAT every person and persons whatsoever, who shall take, accept, or act under any commission

mission or authority, in any wise derived from the act passed in the last session of Parliament, changing the form of Government, and violating the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which God, nature and compact have given to America.

THE committee brought in a draught of a letter to General Gage, and the same being read and amended was ordered to be copied, and to be signed by the President in behalf of the Congress.

TUESDAY *October 11, 1774.*

A COPY of the letter to General Gage was brought into Congress, and agreeable to order signed by the President, and is as follows.

Philadelphia, October 10, 1774.

SIR,

“THE inhabitants of the town of Boston have informed us, the representatives of his Majesty’s faithful subjects in all the colonies from Nova Scotia to Georgia, that the fortifications erecting within that town, the frequent invasions of private property, and the repeated insults they receive from the soldiery, have given them great reason to suspect a plan is formed very destructive to them, and tending to overthrow the liberties of America.

YOUR

“YOUR Excellency cannot be a stranger to the sentiments of America, with respect to the acts of Parliament, under the execution of which those unhappy people are oppressed, the approbation universally expressed of their conduct, and the determined resolution of the colonies, for the preservation of their common rights, to unite in their opposition to those acts.—In consequence of these sentiments, they have appointed us the guardians of their rights and liberties, and we are under the deepest concern, that whilst we are pursuing dutiful and peaceable measures to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great-Britain and the colonies, your Excellency should proceed in a manner that bears so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive acts do not warrant.

“WE entreat your Excellency to consider, what a tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a free people, hitherto well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which may prevent the endeavours of this Congress to restore a good understanding with our parent state, and may involve us in the horrors of a civil war.

“IN order therefore to quiet the minds and remove the reasonable jealousies of the people, that they may not be driven to a state of desperation, being fully persuaded of their pacific disposition towards the King's troops, could they be assured of their own safety, we hope, Sir, you will discontinue the fortifications in and about Boston, prevent any further invasions of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give

orders that the communication between the town and country may be open, unmolested and free.

Signed by order and in behalf

Of the general Congress,

PEYTON RANDOLPH, President."

As the Congress have given General Gage an assurance of the peaceable disposition of the people of Boston and the Massachusetts Bay,

Resolved unanimously,

THAT they be advis'd still to conduct themselves peaceably towards his Excellency General Gage, and his Majesty's troops now stationed in the town of Boston, as far as can possibly be consistent with their immediate safety and the security of the town, avoiding and discountenancing every violation of his Majesty's property, or any insult to his troops, and that they peaceably and firmly persevere in the line they are now conducting themselves, on the defensive.

Ordered, THAT a copy of the foregoing resolve, and of that passed on Saturday, and the three passed yesterday be made out, and that the President inclose them in a letter to the committee of correspondence for the town of Boston, being the sentiments of the Congress on the matters referred to them by the committee, in their letter of the 29th of September last.

Resolved

Resolved unanimously,

THAT a memorial be prepared to the people of British America, stating to them the necessity of a firm, united, and invariable observation of the measures recommended by the Congress, as they tender the invaluable rights and liberties derived to them from the laws and constitution of their country.

Also, that an address be prepared to the people of Great-Britain.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Lee, Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Jay be a Committee to prepare a draught of the memorial and address.

WEDNESDAY *October* 12, 1774.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to prepare a plan, for carrying into effect the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, brought in a report which was read.

Ordered, THAT the same lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

THE Congress then resumed the consideration of the rights and grievances of these colonies, and after deliberating on the subject this and the following day, adjourned till Friday.

FRIDAY *October* 14, 1774.

THE Congress met according to adjournment, and resuming the consideration of the subject under debate—made the following DECLARATION and RESOLVES.

WHEREAS

WHEREAS, since the close of the last war, the British parliament claiming a power, of right, to bind the people of America by statutes, in all cases whatsoever, hath in some acts expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county.

AND whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependant on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept, in times of peace: And whereas it has lately been resolved in parliament, that by force of a statute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the eighth, colonists may be transported to England and tried there upon accusations for treasons and misprisions, or concealments of treasons committed in the colonies; and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned.

AND whereas in the last session of parliament, three statutes were made; one entitled,
 “ An act to discontinue in such manner, and
 “ for such time as are therein mentioned, the
 “ landing and discharging, lading or shipping
 “ of

“ of goods, wares and merchandize, at the
 “ town, and within the harbour of Boston,
 “ in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, in
 “ North-America.” Another entitled, “ An
 “ act for the better regulating the govern-
 “ ment of the province of the Massachusetts-
 “ Bay, in New-England.” And another entit-
 “ led, An act for the impartial administration
 “ of justice, in the cases of persons questioned
 “ for any act done by them in the execution
 “ of the law, or for the suppression of riots
 “ and tumults, in the province of the Massa-
 “ chusetts-Bay, in New-England.” And an-
 other statute was then made, “ for making
 “ more effectual provision for the government
 “ of the province of Quebec, &c.” All which
 statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as
 well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous
 and destructive of American rights.

AND whereas, assemblies have been fre-
 quently dissolved, contrary to the rights of
 the people, when they attempted to deliberate
 on grievances; and their dutiful, humble,
 loyal and reasonable petitions to the crown
 for redress, have been repeatedly treated with
 contempt by his Majesty's ministers of state.

THE good people of the several colonies of
 New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-
 Island and Providence plantations, Connec-
 ticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania,
 New-Castle Kent and Suffex on Delaware,
 Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and
 South-Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbi-
 trary

trary proceedings of parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties may not be subverted: Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these colonies, taking into their most serious consideration the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place, as Englishmen their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, **D E C L A R E,**

T H A T the inhabitants of the English colonies in North-America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following **RIGHTS.**—

Resolved, N. C. D. 1. **T H A T** they are entitled to life, liberty, and property: and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved, N. C. D. 2. **T H A T** our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

Resolved,

Resolved, N. C. D. 3. THAT by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

Resolved, 4. THAT the foundation of English liberty and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial Legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed: But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

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Resolved,

Resolved, N. C. D. 5. THAT the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

Resolved, 6. THAT they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

Resolved, N. C. D. 7. THAT these, his Majesty's, colonies are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

Resolved, N. C. D. 8. THAT they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

Resolved, N. C. D. 9. THAT the keeping a standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

Resolved, N. C. D. 10. It is indispensibly necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the
constituent

constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other ; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

ALL and each of which, the aforesaid deputies in behalf of themselves, and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties ; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

IN the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights ; which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

Resolved, N. C. D. THAT the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists ; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies, viz.

THE several acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5 Geo. III. ch. 25.—6 Geo. III. ch. 52.—7 Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the power of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorise the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

Also 12 Geo. III. ch. 24. intituled, “An Act for the better securing his Majesty’s dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition and stores,” which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorising the trial of any person charged with the committing any offence described in the said act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts-Bay, and that which is intituled, “An Act for the better administration of justice, &c.”

Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion in the province

province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government) of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North-America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit, but in hopes their fellow subjects in Great-Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures; 1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association. 2. To prepare an address to the people of Great-Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America. And 3. To prepare a loyal address to his Majesty; agreeable to resolutions already entered into.

A LETTER being received from several Gentlemen in Georgia was read.---

SATURDAY

SATURDAY, *October 15, 1774.*

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the plan for carrying into effect the non-importation &c. and after some time spent on that subject, adjourned till Monday.—

MONDAY, *October 17, 1774.*

Mr. John Dickinson appeared in Congress as a Deputy for the province of Pennsylvania, and produced his credentials, as follows:

“ IN Assembly, *October 15, 1774. A. M.*

“ UPON motion by Mr. Rofs,

“ *Ordered*, That Mr. Dickinson be and he is
“ hereby added to the Committee of Deputies
“ appointed by the late Assembly of this pro-
“ vince, to attend the General Congress now
“ sitting in the city of Philadelphia on American
“ grievances.

“ By Order of the House, Cha. Moore, Clk.
“ of the Assembly.”

THE same being approved, Mr. Dickinson took his seat as one of the Deputies for the province of Pennsylvania.

THE Congress then resumed the consideration of the plan of association &c. and after spending the remainder of the day on that subject, adjourned till to-morrow.

TUESDAY,

TUESDAY, *October* 18, 1774.

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the plan of association &c. and after fundry amendments, the same was agreed to and ordered to be transcribed, that it may be signed by the several Members.

THE Committee appointed to prepare an address to the people of Great-Britain brought in a draught, which was read and ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the Members, and to be taken into consideration to-morrow.

WEDNESDAY, *October* 19, 1774.

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the address to the people of Great-Britain, and the same being debated by paragraphs and fundry amendments made, the same was recommitted, in order that the amendments may be taken in.

THE Committee appointed to prepare a memorial to the inhabitants of these colonies reported a draught, which was read and ordered to lie on the table.

Ordered, That this memorial be taken into consideration to-morrow.

THURSDAY,

THURSDAY, *October 20, 1774.*

THE association being copied, was read and signed at the table. And is as follows:—

WE, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Delegates of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Three Lower Counties of Newcastle Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to represent them in a continental Congress held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed, and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British Ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these Colonies, and, with them, the British Empire. In prosecution of which system, various Acts of Parliament have been passed for raising a Revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alledged to have been committed

mitted in America: And in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive Acts have been passed respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts-Bay, and also an Act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these Colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant Colonies, whenever a wicked Ministry shall chuse so to direct them.

To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majesty's subjects in North-America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure: And therefore we do, for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several Colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of our country, as follows.

First. THAT from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place any such goods, wares or merchandize, as shall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that

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day,

day, import any East-India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee or piemento, from the British plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

Second. We will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

Third. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that, from this day, we will not purchase or use any Tea imported on account of the East-India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East-India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares or merchandize, we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

Fourth. THE earnest desire we have not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, Ireland or the West-Indies, induces us to suspend
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a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September 1775; at which time, if the said Acts and parts of Acts of the British parliament herein after mentioned are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great-Britain, Ireland or the West-Indies, except rice to Europe.

Fifth. SUCH as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents and correspondents, in Great-Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant, residing in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares or merchandize, for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so done, we will not from thenceforth have any commercial connexion with such merchant.

Sixth. THAT such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

Seventh. WE will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of sheep and increase their

number to the greatest extent, and to that end, we will kill them as sparingly as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West-Indies or elsewhere; and those of us, who are or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

Eighth. We will in our several stations encourage frugality, œconomy, and industry; and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments. And on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families will go into any further mourning dress than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for Gentlemen, and a black ribbon and neck-lace for Ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs at funerals.

Ninth. Such as are venders of goods or merchandize will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past.—And if any vender of goods or merchandize shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate
or

or depart from this Agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his, or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

Tenth. In case any merchant, trader, or other persons shall import any goods or merchandize after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either reshipped or delivered up to the Committee of the county, or town wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risque of the importer, until the non-importation Agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the Committee aforesaid; and in the last mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed (out of the sales) the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston Port-Bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandizes shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

Eleventh. THAT a Committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for Representatives in the Legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association; and when it shall be made to appear

pear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such Committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the Gazette, to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publicly known, and universally contemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

Twelfth. THAT the Committee of Correspondence in the respective Colonies do frequently inspect the entries of their Custom-Houses, and inform each other from time to time of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association.

Thirteenth. THAT all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

Fourteenth. AND we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatsoever, with any colony or province, in North America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

AND we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere
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to this Association until such parts of the several Acts of Parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, piemento, indigo, foreign paper, glafs, and painters colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the Admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorise the Judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed—And until that part of the Act of the 12. G. 3. ch. 24. entitled, “An Act for the better securing his Majesty's dock yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores, “by which, any persons charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed---And until the four Acts passed in the last session of Parliament, viz. that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston — That for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay — And that which is entitled, “An Act for the better administration of justice, &c.”----- And that “For extending the limits of Quebec, &c.” are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective Colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this Association.

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THE foregoing Association being determined upon by the CONGRESS, was ordered to be subscribed by the several Members thereof, and thereupon we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

In Congress, Philadelphia, October 24.

Signed,

PEYTON RANDOLPH, *President.*

New Hampshire. { JOHN SULLIVAN,
NATHANIEL FOLSOM.

Massachusetts-Bay. { THOMAS CUSHING,
SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

Rhode-Island. { STEPHEN HOPKINS,
SAMUEL WARD.

Connecticut. { ELIPHALET DYER,
ROGER SHERMAN,
SILAS DEANE.

New-York. { ISAAC LOW,
JOHN ALSOP,
JOHN JAY,
JAMES DUANE,
WILLIAM FLOYD,
HENRY WISNER,
S. BOERUM,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON.

New-Jersey. { JAMES KINSEY,
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
STEPHEN CRANE,
RICHARD SMITH.
JOHN DE HART.

Pennsylvania,

Pennsylvania. { JOSEPH GALLOWAY,
JOHN DICKINSON,
CHARLES HUMPHREYS,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
EDWARD BIDDLE,
JOHN MORTON.
GEORGE ROSS.

New-Castle, &c. { CÆSAR RODNEY,
THOMAS M'KEAN,
GEORGE READ.

Maryland. { MATTHEW TILGHMAN,
THOMAS JOHNSON,
WILLIAM PACA,
SAMUEL CHASE.

Virginia. { RICHARD HENRY LEE,
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
P. HENRY, JUN.
RICHARD BLAND,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
EDMUND PENDLETON.

North-Carolina. { WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
R. CASWELL.

South-Carolina. { HENRY MIDDLETON,
THOMAS LYNCH,
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

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THE Congress then resumed the consideration of the address to the inhabitants of these colonies, and after debate thereon, adjourned till tomorrow.

FRIDAY, October 21, 1774.

THE address to the people of Great-Britain being brought in, and the amendments directed being made, the same was approved and is as follows:

To the PEOPLE of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the DELEGATES, appointed by the several English Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, The Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, to consider of their grievances in GENERAL CONGRESS, at Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774.

FRIENDS and FELLOW SUBJECTS,

WHEN a Nation, led to greatness by the hand of Liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her Friends and Children, and instead of giving support to Freedom, turns advocate for Slavery and Oppression, there is reason to suspect she has either ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

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IN almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence and transmitted the rights of men and the blessings of liberty to you their posterity.

BE not surprized therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties and the constitution, you so justly boast, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government and the most solemn compacts with British Sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having *our* lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enslave *you*.

THE cause of America is now the object of universal attention: it has at length become very serious. This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented; and the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject.

Know then, THAT we consider ourselves, and do insist, that we are and ought to be, as free as

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our fellow subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent.

THAT we claim all the benefits secured to the subject by the English constitution, and particularly that inestimable one of trial by jury.

THAT we hold it essential to English Liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence.

THAT we think the Legislature of Great-Britain is not authorized by the condition to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or, to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe. These rights we, as well as you, deem sacred. And yet sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated.

ARE not the Proprietors of the soil of Great-Britain Lords of their own property? can it be taken from them without their consent? will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever?---You know they will not.

WHY then are the Proprietors of the soil of America less Lords of their property than you are of yours, or why should they submit it to the disposal of your Parliament, or any other Parliament, or Council in the world, not of their

their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity in rights, or can any reason be given, why English subjects, who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it?

REASON looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the Parliament assert, that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the Pope can divest Kings of sceptres, which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

AT the conclusion of the late war---a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a Minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame: At the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices of a Minister of principles, and of a family unfriendly to the protestant cause, and inimical to liberty.-- We say at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enslaving your
fellow

fellow subjects in America was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution.

PRIOR to this æra you were content with drawing from us the wealth produced by our commerce. You restrained our trade in every way that could conduce to your emolument. You exercised unbounded sovereignty over the sea. You named the ports and nations to which alone our merchandize should be carried, and with whom alone we should trade; and though some of these restrictions were grievous, we nevertheless did not complain; we looked up to you as to our parent state to which we were bound by the strongest ties: And were happy in being instrumental to your prosperity and your grandeur.

WE call upon you yourselves, to witness our loyalty and attachment to the common interest of the whole empire: Did we not, in the last war, add all the strength of this vast continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? Did we not leave our native shores, and meet disease and death, to promote the success of British arms in foreign climates? Did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburse us large sums of money, which, you confessed, we had advanced beyond our proportion and far beyond our abilities? You did.

To what causes, then, are we to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery which was prepared for us at the restoration of peace.

BEFORE

BEFORE we had recovered from the distresses which ever attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money, by the oppressive Stamp-Act. Paint, Glass, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchase of other nations, were taxed; nay, although no wine is made in any country, subject to the British state, you prohibited our procuring it of foreigners, without paying a tax, imposed by your parliament, on all we imported. These and many other impositions were laid upon us most unjustly and unconstitutionally, for the express purpose of raising a revenue.--- In order to silence complaint, it was, indeed, provided, that this revenue should be expended in America for its protection and defence.--- These exactions, however, can receive no justification from a pretended necessity of protecting and defending us. They are lavishly squandered on court favourites and ministerial dependents, generally avowed enemies to America and employing themselves, by partial representations, to traduce and embroil the Colonies. For the necessary support of government here, we ever were and ever shall be ready to provide. And whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, we shall, as we have heretofore done, cheerfully contribute our full proportion of men and money. To enforce this unconstitutional and unjust scheme of taxation, every fence that the wisdom of our British ancestors had carefully erected against arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America, and the inestimable right of trial by jury taken away in cases that touch both life and property.---It was ordained
that

that whenever offences should be committed in the Colonies against particular Acts imposing various duties and restrictions upon trade, the prosecutor might bring his action for the penalties in the Courts of Admiralty; by which means the subject lost the advantage of being tried by an honest uninfluenced jury of the vicinage, and was subjected to the sad necessity of being judged by a single man, a creature of the Crown, and according to the course of a law which exempts the prosecutor from the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliges the defendant either to evince his innocence or to suffer. To give this new judicatory the greater importance, and as, if with design to protect false accusers, it is further provided, that the Judge's certificate of there having been probable causes of seizure and prosecution, shall protect the prosecutor from actions at common law for recovery of damages.

By the course of our law, offences committed in such of the British dominions in which courts are established and justice duely and regularly administered, shall be there tried by a jury of the vicinage. There the offenders and the witnesses are known, and the degree of credibility to be given to their testimony, can be ascertained.

In all these Colonies, justice is regularly and impartially administered, and yet by the construction of some, and the direction of other Acts of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there

there to be tried in a distant land, by a *jury* of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages that result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money.

WHEN the design of raising a revenue from the duties imposed on the importation of tea into America had in great measure been rendered abortive by our ceasing to import that commodity, a scheme was concerted by the Ministry with the East India Company, and an Act passed enabling and encouraging them to transport and vend it in the Colonies. Aware of the danger of giving success to this insidious manœuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be established among us, various methods were adopted to elude the stroke. The people of Boston, then ruled by a Governor, whom, as well as his predecessor Sir Francis Bernard, all America considers as her enemy, were exceedingly embarrassed. The ships, which had arrived with the tea, were by his management prevented from returning.---The duties would have been paid; the cargoes landed and exposed to sale; a Governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchasers. While the town was suspended by deliberations on this important subject, the tea was destroyed. Even supposing a trespass was thereby committed, and the Proprietors of the tea entitled to damages.---The Courts of Law were open, and Judges appointed by the Crown presided in them.---The East India Company however did not think proper to commence any suits, nor did they even demand sa-

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tisfaction

tisfaction either from individuals or from the community in general. The Ministry, it seems, officiously made the case their own, and the great Council of the nation descended to intermeddle with a dispute about private property.--- Divers papers, letters, and other unauthenticated ex parte evidence were laid before them; neither the persons who destroyed the Tea, nor the people of Boston, were called upon to answer the complaint. The Ministry, incensed by being disappointed in a favourite scheme, were determined to recur from the little arts of finesse, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boston was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be suspended, and thousands reduced to the necessity of gaining subsistence from charity, till they should submit to pass under the yoke, and consent to become slaves, by confessing the omnipotence of Parliament, and acquiescing in whatever disposition they might think proper to make of their lives and property.

LET justice and humanity cease to be the boast of your nation! consult your history, examine your records of former transactions, nay turn to the annals of the many arbitrary states and kingdoms that surround you, and shew us a single instance of men being condemned to suffer for imputed crimes, unheard, unquestioned, and without even the specious formality of a trial; and that too by laws made expressly for the purpose, and which had no existence at the time of the fact committed. If it be difficult to reconcile these proceedings to the genius

nus and temper of your laws and constitution, the task will become more arduous, when we call upon our ministerial enemies to justify, not only condemning men untried and by hearsay, but involving the innocent in one common punishment with the guilty, and for the act of thirty or forty, to bring poverty, distress and calamity on thirty thousand souls, and those not your enemies, but your friends, brethren, and fellow subjects.

It would be some consolation to us, if the catalogue of American oppressions ended here. It gives us pain to be reduced to the necessity of reminding you, that under the confidence reposed in the faith of government, pledged in a royal charter from a British Sovereign, the forefathers of the present inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay left their former habitations, and established that great, flourishing, and loyal Colony. Without incurring or being charged with a forfeiture of their rights, without being heard, without being tried, without law, and without justice, by an Act of Parliament, their charter is destroyed, their liberties violated, their constitution and form of government changed: And all this upon no better pretence, than because in one of their towns a trespass was committed on some merchandize, said to belong to one of the Companies, and because the Ministry were of opinion, that such high political regulations were necessary to compel due subordination and obedience to their mandates.

NOR are these the only capital grievances under which we labour. We might tell of dissolute, weak and wicked Governors having been set over us; of Legislatures being suspended for asserting the rights of British subjects---of needy and ignorant dependents on great men advanced to the seats of justice and to other places of trust and importance;---of hard restrictions on commerce, and a great variety of lesser evils, the recollection of which is almost lost under the weight and pressure of greater and more poignant calamities.

Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving us.

WELL aware that such hardy attempts to take our property from us; to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury; to seize our persons, and carry us for trial to Great-Britain; to blockade our ports; to destroy our Charters, and change our forms of government, would occasion, and had already occasioned great discontent in all the Colonies, which might produce opposition to these measures: An Act was passed to protect, indemnify, and screen from punishment such as might be guilty even of murder, in endeavouring to carry their oppressive edicts into execution; And by another Act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed, as that by being dis-united from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to Adminis-

Administration, so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

THIS was evidently the object of the Act:--- And in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, We cannot forbear complaining of it, as hostile to British America.---- Superadded to these considerations, we cannot help deploring the unhappy condition to which it has reduced the many English settlers, who, encouraged by the Royal Proclamation, promising the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchased estates in that country.---- They are now the subjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when imprisoned cannot claim the benefit of the habeas corpus Act, that great bulwark and palladium of English liberty:---Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world.

THIS being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

ADMIT that the Ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation

miliation and slavery. Such an enterprize would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with Pensioners and Placemen.--- We presume, also, that your commerce will somewhat be diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious---in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest?

MAY not a Ministry with the same armies in-slave you---it may be said, you will cease to pay them---but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add, the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast continent will then be in the power of your enemies---nor will you have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

Do not treat this as chimerical---Know that in less than half a century, the quit-rents reserved to the Crown, from the numberless grants of this vast continent, will pour large streams of wealth into the royal coffers, and if to this be added the power of taxing America at pleasure, the Crown will be rendered independent on you for supplies, and will possess more treasure than may be necessary to purchase the *remains* of Liberty in your Island.--- in a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.

WE

WE believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation---To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies---Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness, we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the Empire---we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own.

BUT if you are determined that your Ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of Mankind---If neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we never will submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world.

PLACE us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.

BUT lest the same supineness and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shewn, should continue,
we

we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences.

By the destruction of the trade of Boston, the Ministry have endeavoured to induce submission to their measures.---The like fate may befall us all, we will endeavour therefore to live without trade, and recur for subsistence to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessaries and some of the conveniences of life.---We have suspended our importation from Great-Britain and Ireland; and in less than a year's time, unless our grievances should be redressed, shall discontinue our exports to those kingdoms and the West-Indies.

It is with the utmost regret however, that we find ourselves compelled by the overruling principles of self-preservation, to adopt measures detrimental in their consequences to numbers of our fellow subjects in Great-Britain and Ireland. But we hope, that the magnanimity and justice of the British Nation will furnish a Parliament of such wisdom, independance and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked Ministers and evil Counsellors whether in or out of office, and thereby restore that harmony, friendship and fraternal affection between all the Inhabitants of his Majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true and honest American.

THE CONGRESS then resumed the consideration of the memorial to the inhabitants of the
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British colonies, and the same being debated by paragraphs and amended, was approved, and is as follows:--

To the INHABITANTS of the COLONIES of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.

FRIENDS and COUNTRYMEN,

WE, the DELEGATES appointed by the good people of these Colonies to meet at Philadelphia in September last, for the purposes mentioned by our respective Constituents, have in pursuance of the trust reposed in us, assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the important matters recommended to the Congress. Our resolutions thereupon will be herewith communicated to you. But as the situation of public affairs grows daily more and more alarming; and as it may be more satisfactory to you to be informed by us in a collective body, than in any other manner, of those sentiments that have been approved, upon a full and free discussion by the Representatives of so great a part of America, we esteem ourselves obliged to add this Address to these Resolutions.

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IN every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to Almighty God, the creator of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified: That neither affection on the one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice.

FROM Councils thus tempered arise the surest hopes of the divine favour, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged and the strongest recommendation of their cause to the rest of mankind.

WITH minds deeply impressed by a sense of these truths, we have diligently, deliberately and calmly enquired into and considered those exertions, both of the legislative and executive power of Great-Britain, which have excited so much uneasiness in America, and have with equal fidelity and attention considered the conduct of the Colonies. Upon the whole, we find ourselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative, of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those we wish to reverence.---In making our choice of these distressing difficulties, we prefer the course dictated by honesty, and a regard for the welfare of our country.

Soon

Soon after the conclusion of the late war, there commenced a memorable change in the treatment of these Colonies. By a statute made in the fourth year of the present reign, a time of *profound peace*, alledging "the expediency of new provisions and regulations for extending the commerce between Great-Britain and his Majesty's dominions in America, and the necessity of raising a Revenue in the said dominions for defraying the expences of *defending*, protecting and securing the same," the *Commons of Great-Britain* undertook to give and grant to his Majesty many rates and duties, to be paid in these Colonies. To enforce the observance of this Act, it prescribes a great number of severe penalties and forfeitures; and in two sections makes a remarkable distinction between the subjects in Great-Britain and those in America. By the one, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *there* are to be recovered in any of the King's Courts of *Record* at *Westminster*, or in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland; and by the other, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *here* are to be recovered in any Court of Record, or in any Court of *Admiralty* or *Vice-Admiralty*, at the election of the informer or prosecutor.

THE Inhabitants of these Colonies confiding in the justice of Great-Britain, were scarcely allowed *sufficient* time to receive and consider this Act, before another, well known by the name of the *Stamp Act*, and passed in the fifth year of this reign, engrossed their whole attention. By this statute the British Parliament

exercised in the most explicit manner a power of *taxing* us, and extending the jurisdiction of Courts of *Admiralty* and *Vice-Admiralty* in the Colonies, to matters arising within the body of a county, directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures, thereby inflicted, to be recovered in the said Courts.

IN the same year a tax was imposed upon us, by an Act, establishing several new fees in the customs. In the next year, the Stamp Act was repealed; not because it was founded in an erroneous principle, but, as the repealing Act recites, because "the continuance thereof would be attended with many inconveniencies, and might be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interest of Great-Britain."

IN the same year, and by a subsequent Act, it was declared, "that his Majesty in Parliament, of right, had power to bind the people of these Colonies by Statutes IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER."

IN the same year, another Act was passed, for imposing rates and duties payable in these Colonies. In this Statute the Commons avoiding the terms of *giving* and *granting* "humbly besought his Majesty that it might be enacted &c." But from a declaration in the preamble, that the rates and duties were "in lieu of" fe-

veral others granted by the Statute first before mentioned *for raising a revenue* and from some other expressions it appears, that these duties were intended *for that purpose*.

IN the next year, (1767,) an Act was made “to enable his Majesty to put the customs and *other duties* in America under the management of Commissioners &c.” and the King thereupon erected the present expensive Board of Commissioners, for the express purpose of carrying into execution the several Acts relating to the *revenue* and trade in *America*.

AFTER the repeal of the Stamp-Act, having again resigned ourselves to our antient unsuspecting affections for the parent state, and anxious to avoid any controversy with her, in hopes of a favourable alteration in sentiments and measures towards us, we did not press our objections against the above mentioned Statutes made subsequent to that repeal.

ADMINISTRATION attributing to trifling causes, a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the same year (1767) to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

By a Statute commonly called the *Glass, Paper and Tea Act*, made fifteen months after the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, the Commons of Great-Britain resumed their former language,
and

and again undertook to “ *give and grant* rates and duties to be paid in these Colonies,” for the exprefs purpose of “ *raising a revenue*, to defray the charges of the *adminiftration of juftice*, the fupport of *civil government*, and *defending the Kings dominions*,” on this continent. The penalties and forfeitures, incurred under this Statute, are to be recovered *in the fame manner*, with thofe mentioned in the foregoing Acts.

To this Statute, fo naturally tending to difturb the tranquillity then univerfal throughout the Colonies, Parliament, in the fame feffion, added another no lefs extraordinary.

EVER fince the making the prefent peace, a ftanding army has been kept in thefe Colonies. From refpect for the mother country, the innovation was not only tolerated, but the provincial Legislatures generally made provifion for fupplying the troops.

THE Affembly of the province of New-York, having paffed an Act of this kind, but differing in fome articles, from the directions of the Act of Parliament made in the *fifth* year of this reign, the Houfe of Representatives in that Colony was prohibited by a Statute made in the feffion laft mentioned, from making any bill, order, refolution or vote, except for adjourning or chufing a Speaker, until provifion fhould be made by the faid Affembly for furnifhing the troops within that province, not only with all fuch neceffaries as were required by the Statute *which they were charged with difobeying*, but alfo
with

with those required by two other *subsequent* Statutes, which were declared to be in force until the twenty fourth day of March 1769.

THESE Statutes of the year 1767 revived the apprehensions and discontents, that had entirely subsided on the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*; and amidst the just fears and jealousies thereby occasioned, a Statute was made in the next year (1768) to establish Courts of *Admiralty* and *Vice Admiralty* on a new model, expressly for the end of more *effectually* recovering the *penalties* and *forfeitures* inflicted by Acts of Parliament, framed for the purpose of *raising a revenue* in America, &c.

THE immediate tendency of these statutes is, to subvert the right of having a share in legislation, by rendering Assemblies useless; the right of property, by taking the money of the Colonists without their consent; the right of trials by jury, by substituting in their place trials in Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts, where single Judges preside, holding their Commissions during pleasure; and unduely to influence the Courts of common law, by rendering the Judges thereof totally dependent on the Crown for their salaries.

THESE statutes, not to mention many others exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with another, will be found, not only to form a regular system, in which every part has great force, but also a pertinacious adherence to that system, for subjugating these Colonies, that are not,
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and from local circumstances, cannot be represented in the House of Commons, to the uncontrollable and unlimited power of Parliament, in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties, in contempt of their humble and repeated supplications.

THIS conduct must appear equally astonishing and unjustifiable, when it is considered how unprovoked it has been by any behaviour of these Colonies. From their first settlement, their bitterest enemies never fixed on any of them a charge of disloyalty to their Sovereign or disaffection to their Mother-Country. In the wars she has carried on, they have exerted themselves whenever required, in giving her assistance; and have rendered her services, which she has publicly acknowledged to be extremely important. Their fidelity, duty and usefulness during the last war, were frequently and affectionately confessed by his late Majesty and the present King.

THE reproaches of those, who are most unfriendly to the freedom of America, are principally levelled against the province of Massachusetts-Bay; but with what little reason, will appear by the following declarations of a person, the truth of whose evidence, in their favour, will not be questioned---Governor Bernard thus addresses the two Houses of Assembly---in his speech on the 24th of April 1762,---
 “ The unanimity and dispatch, with which you have complied with the *requisitions of his Majesty*, require my particular acknowledgement.
 And

And it gives me additional pleasure to observe, that you have therein acted under no other influence than a due sense of your duty, both as members of a general empire, and as the body of a particular province."

In another speech on the 27th of May, in the same year, he says,—"Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us, that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. *Everything that hath been required of it hath been complied with*; and the execution of the powers committed to me, for raising the provincial troops hath been as full and complete as the grant of them. Never before were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field as they have been this year; the common people seemed to be animated with the spirit of the general Court, and to vie with them in their readiness to serve the King."

SUCH was the conduct of the People of the Massachusetts-Bay, during the last war. As to their behaviour before that period, it ought not to have been forgot in Great-Britain, that not only on every occasion they had constantly and chearfully complied with the frequent royal requisitions---but that chiefly by their vigorous efforts, Nova-Scotia was subdued in 1710, and Louisbourg in 1745.

FOREIGN quarrels being ended, and the domestic disturbances, that quickly succeeded on account of the stamp-act, being quieted by its
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repeal, the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay transmitted an humble address of thanks to the King and divers Noblemen, and soon after passed a bill for granting compensation to the sufferers in the disorder occasioned by that act.

THESE circumstances and the following extracts from Governor Bernard's Letters in 1768, to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, clearly shew, with what grateful tenderness they strove to bury in oblivion the unhappy occasion of the late discords, and with what respectful deference they endeavoured to escape other subjects of future controversy. "The House, (says the Governor) from the time of opening the session to this day, has shewn a disposition to *avoid* all dispute with me; every thing having passed with as much good humour as I could desire, except only their continuing to act in *addressing* the King, *remonstrating* to the Secretary of State, and *employing* a separate agent. It is the *importance of this innovation*, without any wilfulness of my own, which induces me to make this remonstrance at a time when I have a fair prospect of having, *in all other business*, nothing but good to say of the proceedings of the House."*

"THEY have acted *in all things*, even in their remonstrance *with temper and moderation*; they have *avoided* some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for *removing* some causes of former altercation."†

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* January 27, 1768. † January 30, 1768.

“ I shall make such a prudent and proper use
 “ of this Letter as, I hope, will perfectly restore
 “ the peace and tranquillity of this province, for
 “ which purpose *considerable steps have been made*
 “ *by the House of Representatives.*”*

THE vindication of the province of Massachusetts-Bay contained in these Letters will have greater force, if it be considered, that they were written several months after the fresh alarm given to the colonies by the statutes passed in the preceding year.

IN this place it seems proper to take notice of the insinuation in one of these statutes, that the interference of Parliament was *necessary* to provide for “ defraying the charge of the *administration of justice*, the support of *civil government*, and defending the King’s dominions in “ America.”

As to the two first articles of expence, every colony had made such provision, as by their respective Assemblies, the best judges on such occasions, was thought expedient, and suitable to their several circumstances. Respecting the last, it is well known to all men the least acquainted with American affairs, that the colonies were established, and have generally defended themselves, without the least assistance from Great-Britain; and, that at the time of her *taxing* them by the statutes before mentioned, most of them were labouring under very heavy debts contracted in the last war. So far were they from sparing their money, when their Sovereign, constitutionally,

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asked

* February 2, 1768.

asked their aids, that during the course of that war, Parliament repeatedly made them compensations for the expences of those strenuous efforts, which, consulting their zeal rather than their strength, they had chearfully incurred.

SEVERE as the Acts of *Parliament* before-mentioned are, yet the conduct of *Administration* has been equally injurious, and irritating to this devoted country.

UNDER pretence of governing them, so many new institutions, uniformly rigid and dangerous, have been introduced, as could only be expected from incensed masters, for collecting the tribute or rather the plunder of conquered provinces.

By an order of the King, the authority of the Commander in chief, and under him of the Brigadiers general, *in time of peace*, is rendered *supreme* in all the civil governments in *America*; and thus an uncontrollable military power is vested in officers not known to the constitution of these colonies.

A LARGE body of troops and a considerable armament of ships of war have been sent to assist in taking their money without their consent.

EXPENSIVE and oppressive offices have been multiplied, and the acts of corruption industriously practised to divide and destroy.

THE Judges of the Admiralty and Vice Admiralty Courts are impowered to receive their salaries

salaries and fees from the effects to be condemned by themselves.

THE Commissioners of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

JUDGES of Courts of Common Law have been made entirely dependent on the Crown for their commissions and salaries.

A COURT has been established at Rhode-Island, for the purpose of taking Colonists to England to be tried.

HUMBLE and reasonable petitions from the Representatives of the people have been frequently treated with contempt; and Assemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily dissolved.

FROM some few instances it will sufficiently appear, on what pretences of justice those dissolutions have been founded.

THE tranquillity of the colonies having been again disturbed, as has been mentioned, by the statutes of the year 1767, the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, in a letter to Governor Bernard, dated April 22, 1768, censures the "*presumption*" of the House of Representatives for "*resolving upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature as that of writing to the other colonies, on the subject of their intended representations against some late Acts of Parliament,*"

“*ment*,” then declares that, “his Majesty considers this step as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of Parliament.”—and afterwards adds, “—It is *the King’s pleasure*, that as soon as the General Court is again assembled, at the time prescribed by the Charter, you should require of the House of Representatives, in his Majesty’s name, to *rescind* the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the Speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding.”

“If the new Assembly should refuse to comply with his Majesty’s reasonable expectation, it is the King’s pleasure, that you should immediately dissolve them.”

THIS letter being laid before the House, and the resolution not being rescinded according to the order, the Assembly was dissolved. A letter of a similar nature was sent to other Governors to procure resolutions approving the conduct of the Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay, to be *rescinded* also; and the Houses of Representatives in other colonies refusing to comply, Assemblies were dissolved.

THESE mandates spoke a language, to which the ears of English subjects had for several generations been strangers. The nature of assemblies implies a power and right of deliberation;

ration; but these commands, proscribing the exercise of judgment on the propriety of the requisitions made, left to the Assemblies only the election between dictated submission and threatened punishment: A punishment too, founded on no other act, than such as is deemed innocent even in slaves--of agreeing in *petitions* for redress of grievances, that equally affect all.

THE hostile and unjustifiable invasion of the town of Boston soon followed these events in the same year; though that town, the province in which it is situated, and all the colonies, from abhorrence of a contest with their parent state, permitted the execution even of those statutes, against which they so unanimously were complaining, remonstrating and supplicating.

ADMINISTRATION, determined to subdue a spirit of freedom, which English Ministers should have *rejoiced* to cherish, entered into a monopolising combination with the East-India company, to send to this continent vast quantities of Tea, an article on which a duty was laid by a statute, that, in a particular manner, attacked the liberties of America, and which therefore the inhabitants of these Colonies had resolved not to import. The cargo sent to South-Carolina was stored, and not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia and New-York were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston was destroyed, because Governor Hutchinson would not suffer it to be returned.

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ON the intelligence of these transactions arriving in Great-Britain, the public spirited town last mentioned was singled out for destruction, and it was determined, the province it belongs to should partake of its fate. In the last session of parliament therefore were passed the acts for shutting up the port of Boston, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, and changing their chartered constitution of government. To enforce these acts, that province is again invaded by a fleet and army.

To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficient to explain them. For tho' it is pretended, that the province of Massachusetts-Bay has been particularly disrespectful to Great-Britain, yet in truth the behaviour of the people, in other colonies, has been an equal "opposition to the power assumed by parliament." No step however has been taken against any of the rest. This artful conduct conceals several designs. It is expected that the province of Massachusetts-Bay will be irritated into some violent action, that may displease the rest of the continent, or that may induce the people of Great Britain to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that province shall disappoint this part of the plan, it is hoped the other colonies will be so far intimidated as to desert their brethren, suffering

fering in a common cause, and that thus disunited all may be subdued.

To promote these designs, another measure has been pursued. In the session of parliament last mentioned, an act was passed, for changing the government of Quebec, by which act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established; and the people there are deprived of the right to an assembly, trials by jury and the English laws in civil cases are abolished, and instead thereof, the French laws are established, in direct violation of his Majesty's promise by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which many English subjects settled in that province: and the limits of that province are extended so as to comprehend those vast regions, that lie adjoining to the northerly and westerly boundaries of these colonies.

THE authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves, that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such, as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

FROM the detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed and is now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of
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these colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

AT this unhappy period, we have been authorized and directed to meet and consult together for the welfare of our common country. We accepted the important trust with diffidence, but have endeavoured to discharge it with integrity. Though the state of these colonies would certainly justify other measures than we have advised, yet 'weighty reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted. In the first place, it appeared to us a conduct becoming the character, these colonies have ever sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore, we were induced to offer once more to his Majesty the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, regarding with the tender affection, which we knew to be so universal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom, from which we derive our origin, we could not forbear to regulate our steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction, that the colonists are equally dear to them. Between these provinces and that body subsists the social band, which we ardently wish *may never* be dissolved, and which *cannot* be dissolved, until their minds shall become *indisputably hostile*, or their *inattention* shall permit those who are thus hostile to persist in prosecuting with the powers of the realm the destructive measures already operating

rating against the colonists; and in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every regard, but that of self-preservation. Notwithstanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; we have chosen a method of opposition, that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with our fellow-citizens on the other side of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses us to an immediate interruption of commerce, that may prove injurious to them. We trust they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them, by reflecting, that we subject ourselves to similar inconveniencies; that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions, and that we are contending for freedom, so often contended for by our ancestors.

THE people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded, that *they*, the defenders of true religion, and the assertors of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate protestant brethren in the colonies, in favour of *our open* and *their own secret* enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past,

have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

ANOTHER reason, that engaged us to prefer the commercial mode of opposition, arose from an assurance, that this mode will prove efficacious, if it be persisted in with fidelity and virtue; and that your conduct will be influenced by these laudable principles, cannot be questioned. Your own salvation, and that of your posterity, now depends upon yourselves. You have already shewn that you entertain a proper sense of the blessings you are striving to retain. Against the temporary inconveniencies you may suffer from a stoppage of trade, you will weigh in the opposite balance, the endless miseries you and your descendants must endure from an established arbitrary power. You will not forget the honour of your country, that must from your behaviour take its title in the estimation of the world, to glory, or to shame; and you will, with the deepest attention, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of opposition recommended by us be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmness, insolently predict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to chuse, either a more dangerous contest, or a final, ruinous, and infamous submission.

MOTIVES thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost diligence and zeal, to give all possible strength and energy to the pacific measures

measures calculated for your relief: But we think ourselves bound in duty to observe to you, that the schemes agitated against these colonies have been so conducted, as to render it prudent, that you should extend your views to mournful events, and be in all respects prepared for every contingency. Above all things we earnestly intreat you, with devotion of spirit, penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourselves, and implore the favour of Almighty God: and we fervently beseech his divine goodness, to take you into his gracious protection.

Resolved, THAT an address be prepared to the people of Quebec, and letters to the colonies of St. Johns, Nova Scotia, Georgia, East and West Florida, who have not Deputies to represent them in this Congress.—

Ordered, THAT Mr. Cushing, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Dickinson be a Committee to prepare the above address and letters.

THE address to the King being brought in, was read and after debate

Ordered, THAT the same be re-committed, and that Mr. J. Dickinson be added to the Committee.

UPON motion

Resolved, THAT the seizing or attempting to seize any person in America, in order to transport such person beyond the sea for trial of offences, committed within the body of a county in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and reprisal.

SATURDAY,

SATURDAY, *October 22, 1774.*

THE honorable Peyton Randolph, Esq; being unable to attend, on account of indisposition, the honorable Henry Middleton, Esq; was chosen to supply his place as President.

AN Address from Christopher Tully was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Ordered, THAT the Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress as corrected, be sent to the Press, and printed under the direction of Mr. Biddle, Mr. Dickinson and the Secretary.

Resolved, As the opinion of this Congress, that it will be necessary that another Congress should be held on the tenth day of May next, unless the redress of grievances, which we have desired, be obtained before that time.—And we recommend, that the same be held at the City of Philadelphia, and that all the Colonies in North-America chuse Deputies, as soon as possible, to attend such Congress.

THE Committee appointed to prepare a letter to the colonies of St. John's, &c. reported a draught, which was read, and being amended, the same was approved and is as follows.

Philadelphia, October 22, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

“THE present critical and truly alarming state of American affairs, having been considered in
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a General Congress of Deputies from the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, New-Castle Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, with that attention and mature deliberation, which the important nature of the case demands, they have determined, for themselves and the Colonies they represent, on the measures contained in the enclosed papers; which measures they recommend to your colony to be adopted with all the earnestness, that a well directed zeal for American Liberty can prompt.

So rapidly violent and unjust has been the late conduct of the British administration against the Colonies, that either a base and slavish submission, under the loss of their ancient, just and constitutional liberty, must quickly take place, or an adequate opposition be formed.

We pray God to take you under his protection, and to preserve the freedom and happiness of the whole British empire.

By Order of the Congress.

HENRY MIDDLETON, President.

MONDAY, October 24, 1774.

THE address to the people of Quebec being brought in, was read and after some debate was re-committed,

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THE Committee, to whom the address to the King was re-committed, reported a draught, which was read, and ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow.

TUESDAY, *October 25, 1774.*

THE Congress resumed the consideration of the address to his Majesty, and the same being debated by paragraphs, was, after some amendments, approved and ordered to be engrossed.

Resolved, THAT the address to the King be enclosed in a letter to the several colony Agents, in order that the same may be by them presented to his Majesty; and that the Agents be requested to call in the aid of such Noblemen and Gentlemen as are esteemed firm friends to American liberty.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Lee and Mr. Jay prepare a letter to the Agents.

Resolved, THAT this Congress in their own names and in behalf of all those, whom they represent, do present their most grateful acknowledgments to those truly noble, honourable and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who have so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of Parliament.

WEDNESDAY, *October 26, 1774.*

THE letter to the Agents being brought in by the Committee, was read and approved, as follows—
Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, October 26, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

WE give you the strongest proof of our reliance on your zeal and attachment to the happiness of America and the cause of liberty, when we commit the enclosed paper to your care.

We desire you will deliver the petition into the hands of his Majesty, and after it has been presented, we wish it may be made public through the press, together with the list of grievances. And as we hope for great assistance from the spirit, virtue and justice of the nation, it is our earnest desire, that the most effectual care be taken, as early as possible, to furnish the trading cities and manufacturing towns, throughout the united kingdom, with our memorial to the people of Great-Britain.

We doubt not, but your good sense and discernment will lead you to avail yourselves of every assistance that may be derived from the advice and friendship of all great and good men, who may incline to aid the cause of liberty and mankind.

The gratitude of America expressed in the enclosed vote of thanks we desire may be conveyed to the deserving objects of it, in the manner, that you think will be most acceptable to them.

It is proposed that another Congress be held on the 10th of May next at this place, but in the mean time we beg the favour of you, Gentlemen, to transmit to the Speakers of the several Assemblies the earliest information of the most authentic accounts,

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you can collect, of all such conduct and designs of Ministry or Parliament, as it may concern America to know.

We are with unfeigned esteem and regard,

Gentlemen, &c.

By order and in behalf of the Congress,

HENRY MIDDLETON, President.

To Paul Wentworth, Esq;

Doctr. Benj. Franklin,

William Bollen, Esq;

Doctr. Arthur Lee,

Thomas Life, Esq;

Edmund Burke, Esq;

Charles Garth, Esq;

THE Committee, to whom the address to the inhabitants of Quebec was recommitted; reported a draught, which was read and being debated by paragraphs and amended, was approved and is as follows:

*To the INHABITANTS of the Province
of Q U E B E C.*

Friends and Fellow-Subjects,

WE, the DELEGATES of the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, The Counties of Newcastle Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina
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and South-Carolina, deputed by the inhabitants of the said Colonies, to represent them in a General Congress at Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, to consult together concerning the best methods to obtain redress of our afflicting grievances, having accordingly assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the state of public affairs on this continent, have thought proper to address your province, as a member therein deeply interested.

WHEN the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of English subjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united, our brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the Divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his over-ruling providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government, which it is the privilege of all English subjects to enjoy.

THESE hopes were confirmed by the King's proclamation, issued in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment of those advantages.

LITTLE did we imagine that any succeeding Ministers would so audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal authority, as to withhold from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which you were thus justly entitled.

BUT since we have lived to see the unexpected time, when Ministers of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of *that* form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we esteem it our duty, for the weighty reasons herein after mentioned, to explain to you some of its most important branches.

“ IN every human society,” says the celebrated Marquis *Beccaria*, “ there is an *effort*, continually tending to confer on one part the height of power and happiness, and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakness and misery. The intent of good laws is to *oppose this effort*, and to diffuse their influence *universally and equally*.”

RULERS, stimulated by this pernicious “ effort,” and subjects, animated by the just “ intent of opposing good laws against it,” have occasioned that vast variety of events, that fill the histories of so many nations. All these histories demonstrate the truth of this simple position, that to live by the will of one man, or set of men, is the production of misery to all men.

ON the solid foundation of this principle, Englishmen reared up the fabric of their constitution with such a strength, as for ages to defy time, tyranny, treachery, internal and foreign wars: And, as an illustrious author* of your nation, hereafter mentioned, observes,---“ They gave

* Montesquieu.

gave the people of their Colonies the form of their own government, and this government carrying prosperity along with it, they have grown great nations in the forests they were sent to inhabit."

IN this form, the first grand right is that of the people having a share in their own government by their representatives chosen by themselves, and, in consequence, of being ruled by *laws*, which they themselves approve, not by *edicts* of *men* over whom they have no controul. This is a bulwark surrounding and defending their property, which by their honest cares and labours they have acquired, so that no portions of it can legally be taken from them, but with their own full and free consent, when they in their judgment deem it just and necessary to give them for public services, and precisely direct the easiest, cheapest, and most equal methods, in which they shall be collected.

THE influence of this right extends still farther. If money is wanted by Rulers who have in any manner oppressed the people, they may retain it, until their grievances are redressed; and thus peaceably procure relief, without trusting to despised petitions, or disturbing the public tranquillity.

THE next great right is that of trial by jury. This provides, that neither life, liberty nor property can be taken from the possessor, until twelve of his unexceptionable countrymen and peers, of his vicinage, who from that neighbourhood

hood may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with his character, and the characters of the witnesses, upon a fair trial, and full enquiry. face to face, in open Court, before as many of the people as chuse to attend, shall pass their sentence upon oath against him; a sentence that cannot injure him, without injuring their own reputation, and probably their interest also; as the question may turn on points, that, in some degree, concern the general welfare; and if it does not, their verdict may form a precedent, that, on a similar trial of their own, may militate against themselves.

ANOTHER right relates merely to the liberty of the person. If a subject is seized and imprisoned, tho' by order of Government, he may, by virtue of this right, immediately obtain a writ, termed a Habeas Corpus, from a Judge, whose sworn duty it is to grant it, and thereupon procure any illegal restraint to be quickly enquired into and redressed.

A FOURTH right is that of holding lands by the tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous and oppressive services, frequently forcing the possessors from their families and their business, to perform what ought to be done, in all well regulated states, by men hired for the purpose.

THE last right, we shall mention, regards the freedom of the press. The importance of this consists, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in general, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of Government,

vernment, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated into more honourable and just modes of conducting affairs.

THESE are the invaluable rights, that form a considerable part of our mild system of government; that, sending its equitable energy through all ranks and classes of men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors.

THESE are the rights, without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, these Colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are the rights, a profligate Ministry are now striving, by force of arms, to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with our lives.

THESE are the rights, *you* are entitled to and ought at this moment in perfection to exercise. And what is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament in their place? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you; and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected, firmly stipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws, divine and human, could secure it against the despotic caprices
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of wicked men, it was secured before. Are the French laws in *civil* cases restored? *It seems so.* But observe the cautious kindness of the Ministers, who pretend to be your benefactors. The words of the statute are---that those "laws shall be the rule, until they shall be *varied* or *altered* by any ordinances of the Governor and Council." Is the "certainty and lenity of the *criminal* law of England, and its benefits and advantages," commended in the said statute, and said to "have been sensibly felt by you," secured to you and your descendants? No. They too are subjected to arbitrary "*alterations*" by the Governor and Council; and a power is expressly reserved of appointing "such Courts of *criminal, civil* and *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction, as shall be thought proper." Such is the precarious tenure of mere *will*, by which you hold your lives and religion. The Crown and its Ministers are impowered, as far as they could be by Parliament, to establish even the *Inquisition* itself among you. Have you an Assembly composed of worthy men, elected by yourselves, and in whom you can confide, to make laws for you, to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity, and in what manner, your money shall be taken from you? No. The power of making laws for you is lodged in the Governor and Council, all of them dependant upon, and removable at the *pleasure* of a Minister. Besides, another late statute, made without your consent, has subjected you to the impositions of *Excise*, the horror of all free states; thus wresting your property from you by the most odious of taxes, and laying open to insolent tax-gatherers, houses,

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the scenes of domestic peace and comfort, and called the castles of English subjects in the books of their law. And in the very act for altering your government, and intended to flatter you, you are not authorised to “ assess, levy or apply any *rates* and *taxes*, but for the inferior purposes of *making roads*, and erecting and repairing *public buildings*, or for other *local* conveniences, within your respective towns and districts.” Why this degrading distinction? Ought not the property honestly acquired by *Canadians* to be held as sacred as that of *Englishmen*? Have not *Canadians* sense enough to attend to any other public affairs, than gathering stones from one place and piling them up in another? Unhappy people! who are not only injured, but insulted. Nay more!---With such a superlative contempt of your understanding and spirit has an insolent Ministry presumed to think of you, our respectable fellow-subjects, according to the information we have received, as firmly to persuade themselves that your gratitude, for the injuries and insults they have recently offered to you, will engage you to take up arms, and render yourselves the ridicule and detestation of the world, by becoming tools, in their hands, to assist them in taking that freedom from *us*, which they have treacherously denied to *you*; the unavoidable consequence of which attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes of you or your posterity being ever restored to freedom: For ideology itself cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us, who are of the same blood with themselves,

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WHAT would your countryman, the immortal *Montesquieu*, have said to such a plan of domination, as has been framed for you? Hear his words, with an intenseness of thought suited to the importance of the subject.---“ In a free state, every man, who is supposed a free agent, *ought to be concerned in his own government*: Therefore the *legislative* should reside in the whole body of the *people*, or their *representatives*.”---“ The political liberty of the subject is *a tranquillity of mind*, arising from the opinion each person has of his *safety*. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted, as that one man need not be *afraid* of another. When the power of *making* laws, and the power of *executing* them, are *united* in the same person, or in the same body of Magistrates, *there can be no liberty*; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same *Monarch* or *Senate* should *enact* tyrannical laws, to *execute* them in a tyrannical manner.”

“ THE power of *judging* should be exercised by persons taken from the *body of the people*, at certain times of the year, and pursuant to a form and manner prescribed by law. *There is no liberty*, if the power of *judging* be not *separated* from the *legislative* and *executive* powers.”

“ MILITARY men belong to a profession, which *may be* useful, but *is often* dangerous.”---

“ The enjoyment of liberty, and even its support and preservation, consists in every man's being allowed to speak his thoughts, and lay open his sentiments.

APPLY

APPLY these decisive maxims, sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to your own state. You have a Governor, it may be urged, vested with the *executive* powers, or the powers of *administration*. In him, and in your Council, is lodged the power of *making laws*. You have *Judges*, who are to *decide* every cause affecting your lives, liberty or property. Here is, indeed, an appearance of the several powers being *separated* and *distributed* into *different* hands, for checks one upon another, the only effectual mode ever invented by the wit of men, to promote their freedom and prosperity. But scorning to be illuded by a tinsel'd outside, and exerting the natural sagacity of Frenchmen, *examine* the specious device, and you will find it, to use an expression of holy writ, "a whited sepulchre," for burying your lives, liberty and property.

YOUR *Judges*, and your *Legislative Council*, as it is called, are *dependant* on your Governor, and *he* is *dependant* on the servant of the Crown in Great-Britain. The *legislative*, *executive* and *judging* powers are *all* moved by the nods of a Minister. Privileges and immunities last no longer than his smiles. When he frowns, their feeble forms dissolve. Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered you, that every sentence, beginning with a benevolent pretension, concludes with a destructive power; and the substance of the whole, divested of its smooth words, is---that the Crown and its Ministers shall be as absolute throughout your extended province, as the de-

spots of Asia or Africa. What can protect your property from taxing edicts, and the rapacity of necessitous and cruel masters? your persons from Letters de Cachet, goals, dungeons, and oppressive services? your lives and general liberty from arbitrary and unfeeling rulers? We defy you, casting your view upon every side, to discover a single circumstance, promising from any quarter the faintest hope of liberty to you or your posterity, but from an entire adoption into the union of these Colonies.

WHAT advice would the truly great man before mentioned, that advocate of freedom and humanity, give you, was he now living, and knew that we, your numerous and powerful neighbours, animated by a just love of our invaded rights, and united by the indissoluble bands of affection and interest, called upon you, by every obligation of regard for yourselves and your children, as we now do, to join us in our righteous contest, to make common cause with us therein, and take a noble chance for emerging from a humiliating subjection under Governors, Intendants, and Military Tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of English freemen, whose custom it is, derived from their ancestors, to make those tremble, who dare to think of making them miserable?

Would not this be the purport of his address?
 “Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people, compared to
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to those who with open arms invite you into a fellowship. A moment's reflection should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North-America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of Boston have roused and associated every colony, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia. Your province is the only link wanting to compleat the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political interests. For their own sakes, they never will desert or betray you. Be assured, that the happiness of a people inevitably depends on their liberty, and their spirit to assert it. The value and extent of the advantages tendered to you are immense. Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings after they have bid you an eternal adieu."

WE are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine, that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know, that the transcendant nature of freedom elevates those, who unite in her cause, above all such low minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant States, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

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SHOULD there be any among you, as there generally are in all societies, who prefer the favours of Ministers, and their own private interests, to the welfare of their country; the temper of such selfish persons will render them incredibly active in opposing all public-spirited measures, from an expectation of being well rewarded for their sordid industry, by their superiors; but we doubt not you will be upon your guard against such men, and not sacrifice the liberty and happiness of the whole Canadian people and their posterity, to gratify the avarice and ambition of individuals.

WE do not ask you, by this address, to commence acts of hostility against the government of our common Sovereign. We only invite you to consult your own glory and welfare, and not to suffer yourselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous Ministers so far, as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism, but to unite with us in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by such an exchange of beneficial and endearing offices as to render it perpetual. In order to complete this highly desirable union, we submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient for you to meet together in your several towns and districts, and elect Deputies, who afterwards meeting in a provincial Congress, may chuse Delegates, to represent your province in the continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the tenth day of May, 1775.

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IN this present Congress, beginning on the fifth of the last month, and continued to this day, it has been, with universal pleasure and an unanimous vote, resolved, That we should consider the violation of your rights, by the act for altering the government of your province, as a violation of our own, and that you should be invited to accede to our confederation, which has no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great-Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles herein before mentioned. For effecting these purposes, we have addressed an humble and loyal petition to his Majesty, praying relief of our and your grievances; and have associated to stop all importations from Great-Britain and Ireland, after the first day of December, and all exportations to those Kingdoms and the West-Indies, after the tenth day of next September, unless the said grievances are redressed.

THAT Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures, to add yourselves to us, to put your fate, whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, not on the small influence of your single province, but on the consolidated powers of North-America, and may grant to our joint exertions an event as happy as our cause is just, is the fervent prayer of us, your sincere and affectionate friends and fellow-subjects.

By order of the Congress,
HENRY MIDDLETON, President.

Resolved,

Resolved, THAT the Address of the Congress to the people of Quebec be signed by the President, and that the Delegates of the province of Pennsylvania superintend the translating, printing, publishing and dispersing it : And it is recommended by the Congress to the Delegates of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay and New-York, to assist in and forward the dispersion of the said Address.

Two copies of the Address to the King being engrossed and compared were signed at the table by all the members.

Resolved, THAT the thanks of this Congress be given to the honourable House of Representatives of the colony of Pennsylvania, for their politeness to this Congress ; and that the Delegates for this colony be a committee to communicate this resolution to the said honourable House.

A true Copy,

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary*.



T O
PEYTON RANDOLPH, Esq;

Boston, October 20, 1774.

S I R,

REPRESENTATIONS should be made with candour, and matters stated exactly as they stand. People would be led to believe, from your letter to me of the 10th instant, that works were raised against the town of *Boston*, private property invaded, the soldiers suffered to insult the inhabitants, and the communication between the town and country shut up, and molested.

NOTHING can be farther from the true situation of this place than the above state. There is not a single gun pointed against the town, no man's property has been seized or hurt, except the King's, by the people's destroying straw, bricks, &c. bought for his service. No troops have given less cause for complaint, and greater care was never taken to prevent it; and such care and attention was never more necessary from the insults and provocations daily given to both officers and soldiers. The communication between the town and country has been always free and unmolested, and is so still.

Two works of earth have been raised at some distance from the town, wide off the road, and guns put in them. The remainder of old works,

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going out of the town, have been strengthened, and guns placed there likewise. People will think differently, whether the hostile preparation throughout the country, and the menaces of blood and slaughter, made this necessary; but I am to do my duty.

It gives me pleasure that you are endeavouring at a cordial reconciliation with the Mother Country, which, from what has transpired, I have despaired of. Nobody wishes better success to such measures than myself. I have endeavoured to be a Mediator, if I could establish a foundation to work upon, and have strongly urged it to people here to pay for the tea, and send a proper memorial to the King, which would be a good beginning on their side, and give their friends the opportunity they seek to move in their support.

I do not believe that menaces, and unfriendly proceedings, will have the effect which too many conceive. The spirit of the *British* nation was high when I left *England*, and such measures will not abate it. But I should hope that decency and moderation here would create the same disposition at home; and I ardently wish that the common enemies to both countries may see, to their disappointment, that these disputes between the Mother Country and the Colonies have terminated like the quarrels of lovers, and increased the affection which they ought to bear to each other.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS GAGE.

To

To the KING's most excellent MAJESTY.

Most gracious SOVEREIGN,

WE your Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies of *Newbampshire*, *Massachusetts-Bay*, *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations*, *Connecticut*, *New York*, *New Jersey*, *Pennsylvania*, the counties of *Newcastle Kent* and *Suffex* on *Delaware*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *North-Carolina*, and *South-Carolina*, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these Colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, by this our humble Petition beg leave to lay our grievances before the Throne.

A STANDING army has been kept in these Colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our Assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

THE authority of the Commander in Chief, and under him of the Brigadiers-General has, in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

THE Commander in Chief of all your Majesty's forces in North-America has, in time of peace, been appointed Governor of a Colony.

THE charges of usual offices have been greatly increased; and new, expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied. THE

THE Judges of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves.

THE Officers of the Customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil Magistrate founded on legal information.

THE Judges of Courts of Common Law have been made entirely dependant on one part of the Legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

COUNCELLORS holding their commissions during pleasure exercise legislative authority.

HUMBLE and reasonable Petitions from the Representatives of the people have been fruitless,

THE Agents of the people have been discountenanced and Governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

ASSEMBLIES have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

COMMERCE has been burthened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several Acts of Parliament made in the *fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth* years of your Majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us,
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for the purpose of raising a revenue; and the powers of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by Jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers, are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

BOTH Houses of Parliament have resolved, that Colonists may be tried in *England* for offences alledged to have been committed in *America* by virtue of a Statute passed in the *thirty-fifth* year of *Henry the eighth*; and in consequence thereof attempts have been made to enforce that Statute,

A STATUTE was passed in the *twelfth* year of your Majesty's reign, directing, that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these Colonies may, in sundry cases by that Statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their Peers of the vicinage.

IN the last Session of Parliament, an Act was passed for blocking up the harbour of *Boston*; another empowering the Governor of the *Massachusetts-Bay* to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to
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Great-Britain for trial, whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third for altering the chartered Constitution of Government in that province; and a fourth for extending the limits of *Quebec*, abolishing the *English* and restoring the *French* laws, whereby great numbers of *British* freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute Government and the Roman Catholic Religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free, protestant, *English* settlements; and a fifth for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in *North-America*.

To a Sovereign, who glories in the name of *Briton*; the bare recital of these Acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects, who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

FROM this destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, that overwhelm your Majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction: and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between *Great-Britain* and these Colonies, from an earlier period, or from other causes, than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us by those we revere,

vere. But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one to receive injuries, and be sensible of them.

HAD our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But thanks be to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your Majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices, that your title to the Crown is thus founded on the title of your people to Liberty; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing, they received from divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

THE apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty and clearly fore-see the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By
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giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your Majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your Majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your Majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your Majesty's repose by our complaints.

THESE sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your Majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alledged of taking our property from us without our consent, "to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection and security of the Colonies." But we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that such provision has been, and will be

be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several Colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances: And for the defence, protection and security of the Colonies, their militias, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your Majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your Majesty's person, family and government; we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honorable to the Prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

HAD we been permitted to enjoy, in quiet, the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should, at this time, have been peaceably, cheerfully and usefully employed in recommending ourselves, by every testimony of devotion, to your Majesty, and of veneration to the state, from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto, with filial reverence, constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing

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circumstances from any former experience, yet, we doubt not, the purity of our intention and the integrity of our conduct will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us and our connexion with Great-Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

FILLED with sentiments of duty to your Majesty and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this Petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America—extending the powers of Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty—trying persons in Great-Britain for offences alledged to be committed in America—affecting the province of Massachusetts-Bay—and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great-Britain and these Colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your Majesty
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and Parliament we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard, we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy. For appealing to that being, who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending destruction.

PERMIT us then, most gracious Sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honor of almighty God, whose pure religion, our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family depending on an adherence to the principles, that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses, that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that if attained, never can compensate for the calamities, through which they must be gained.

WE therefore most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief, and that a
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gracious Answer may be given to this Petition.

THAT your Majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be our sincere and fervent prayer.



